
THE GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

PUBLICATIONS

—OF THE—

Mississippi Historical Society

Volume XII

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PUBLICATIONS

—OF—

THE MISSISSIPPI HISTORICAL SOCIETY

EDITED BY
FRANKLIN L. RILEY
Secretary

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Neither the Editor nor the Society assumes any responsibility
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PREFACE.

The Mississippi Historical Society is fortunate in the character of the contributions which have been submitted for publication in this volume. The readers of other volumes of the series will be gratified to find herein interesting contributions from two investigators whose writings they have enjoyed heretofore. Dr. Fleming's article adds another chapter to his valuable Life of Jefferson Davis, which will undoubtedly be an illuminating contribution to Southern biography. Captain McNeilly's thorough and discriminating contributions to the reconstruction history of the State have won for him a place in the front rank of Mississippi historians.

One of the most notable features of this volume is the exceptional number of valuable articles on the educational history of the State. All of these contributions are of more than local interest, since they treat of men and events, more or less known and appreciated by the students of other parts of the country.

The limits of this volume permit the publication of only two out of a large number of county histories of reconstruction that are in the hands of the editor. Readers who have expressed an interest in this important phase of work will be gratified to learn that other contributions on the subject will appear in the succeeding volumes of the series.

FRANKLIN L. RILEY.

University, Mississippi,
January 1, 1912.

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OFFICERS FOR 1912-1913.

PRESIDENT:

Hon. Alfred H. Stone, Dunleith, Mississippi.

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Hon. Edward Mayes, Jackson, Mississippi.

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(In addition to the officers)

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DR. J. E. WALMSLEY, Jackson, Mississippi.

HON. G. G. HURST, Oxford, Mississippi.

All persons who are interested in the work of the Society and desire to promote its objects are invited to become members.

There is no initiation fee. The only cost to members is, annual dues, $2.00 or life dues, $30.00. Members receive all Publications of the Society free of charge.

Address all communications to the Secretary and Treasurer of the Mississippi Historical Society, University P. O., Mississippi.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ELEVENTH MEETING OF THE MISSISSIPPI HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

By Franklin L. Riley, Secretary.

The eleventh public meeting of the Mississippi Historical Society was held in the Hall of Rrepresentatives, at Jackson, on Thursday evening, January 4th, beginning at 8 o'clock. The Secretary called the meeting to order, and announced that the President of the Society, Dr. R. W. Jones, was detained at his home on account of illness and that the Vice-Presidents were also unable to attend. A motion was unanimously carried, requesting Capt. W. T. Ratliff, of Raymond, Mississippi, to preside over the meeting.

After a few appropriate remarks, Captain Ratliff announced the house ready for business. A motion was adopted to the effect that all persons on the program who were present be heard first and that the papers of other contributors be then presented in abstract or by title.

President D. C. Hull, of Millsaps College, delivered a cordial and eloquent address of welcome, to which Rt. Rev. Bishop Theodore D. Bratton, of Jackson, responded in appropriate and appreciative terms.

Mrs. J. C. Johnson, of Oxford, Mississippi, presented a contribution on "The Civil War Hospital at the University" (see page 94). Dr. J. E. Walmsley, of Millsaps College, then read "Selections from a Private History of the Civil War."[1] This contribution consisted of a number of interesting extracts from the diary of a private soldier in the War of Secession. It gave a detailed account of the privations and hardships endured by a Confederate in the ranks during the great struggle. Miss Julia Kendel, of Oxford, Mississippi, was introduced by the Secretary, who explained the methods of work pursued by students

[1]This contribution has not been submitted for publication by the Society.

in the University of Mississippi in the preparation of contributions on county histories of reconstruction.[2] Miss Kendel then read extracts from her contribution on "Reconstruction in Lafayette County."[3] Hon. J. N. Powers, State superintendent of education, gave a brief statement of the contents of a valuable paper on the "First Marriage of Jefferson Davis" (see page 23), which paper he had been requested to present in the absence of the author, Dr. Walter L. Fleming, of the Louisiana State University.

The following contributions were presented by title:

"The Aristocracy of the South," by Hon. Monroe McClurg, Greenwood, Mississippi; "History of the Gulf and Ship Island Railroad," by Judge W. H. Hardy, Gulfport, Mississippi; "A Boy's Recollections of the War," by Hon. W. O. Hart, New Orleans, Louisiana; "Manuscripts of Senator J. Z. George," by Dr. William Hayne Leavell, Carrollton, Mississippi; "Did the Reconstruction Give Mississippi Her Public Schools?" (see page 72), by Miss Elise Timberlake, Industrial Institute and College, Columbus, Mississippi; "A Contribution to the History of Journalism in Mississippi," by Dr. Franklin L. Riley, University, Mississippi; "Educational Services of Dr. C. M. Vaiden," by Dr. Franklin L. Riley, University, Mississippi; "History of Oakland College," by Dr. C. W. Grafton, Union Church, Mississippi; "Sketch of the Natchez Indians," by Mrs. Elizabeth Bacon, Greenville, Texas; "The Mysterious Natchez," by Mrs. Elizabeth Brandon Stanton, Natchez, Mississippi; "Mississippi and the Kansas Question," by Miss Cleo Hearon, Industrial Institute and College, Columbus, Mississippi; "General Aspects of Local Reconstruction in Mississippi," by Mr. A. B. Schauber, Laurel, Mississippi; "Reconstruction in Marshall County" (see page 155), by Miss Ruth Watkins, Newton, Mississippi; "Reconstruction in Yalobusha and Grenada Counties" (see page 214), by Miss J. C. Brown, Oxford, Mississippi; "Reconstruction in Leflore County," by Mr. J. A. Bell, Greenwood, Mississippi; "Recon-

[2]See Appendix to "Proceeding of the Tenth Public Meeting" in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, XI, 12-13; also *infra.* pages 12-15.

[3]This contribution will appear in a later volume of the *Publications.*

struction in Scott County," by Mr. Forrest Cooper, Forest, Mississippi; "Reconstruction in Panola County," by Mr. J. W. Kyle, Batesville, Mississippi; "Reconstruction in Holmes County," by Mr. J. H. McLean, Winona, Mississippi; "Reconstruction in Kemper County," by Miss Janie Stennis, De Kalb, Mississippi; "Climax and Collapse of the Reconstruction in Mississippi, 1874-1876" (see page 283), by Capt. J. S. McNeily, Vicksburg, Mississippi.

The report of the Committee on Necrology was read by the Secretary and approved by the Society (see page 16). The following resolution was then presented by Hon. J. R. Preston and unanimously adopted:

"1. That the Mississippi Historical Society commend the work done by the Secretary, Dr. Franklin L. Riley, during the past biennial term.

"2. That we express our gratitude to the house of representatives of the legislature for their kindness in granting the use of their hall for this meeting.

"3. That we earnestly urge the legislature to continue their generous support of the Society, to the end that it may continue to record permanently the deeds of our heroes, and the history in which their deeds are set."

Pres. D. C. Hull presented the following report of the Committee on Nominations, which was unanimously adopted:

OFFICERS FOR 1912-1913.

President, Hon. Alfred H. Stone, Greenville, Mississippi.
First Vice-President, Col. W. A. Montgomery, Edwards, Mississippi.
Second Vice-President, Hon. Edward Mayes, Jackson, Mississippi.
Secretary and Treasurer, Dr. Franklin L. Riley, University, Mississippi.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(In addition to the above officers):

Hon. James M. White, West Point, Mississippi; Prof. G. H. Brunson, Agricultural College, Mississippi; Hon. J. R. Preston, Jackson, Mississippi; Hon. G. G. Hurst, Oxford, Mississippi; Dr. J. E. Walmsley, Jackson, Mississippi.

The meeting then adjourned, subject to the call of the Executive Committee.

APPENDIX I.

OUTLINE FOR A COUNTY HISTORY OF RECONSTRUCTION.

By Franklin L. Riley.

I. Introduction.
  1. Formation and Description of County.
    (1) Act of creation and sources of territory.
    (2) Location and area.
    (3) Topography.
      a. Soil.
      b. Streams.
    (4) Transportation facilties.
      a. Navigation.
      b. Overland routes.
      c. Railroads.
    (5) Important places.
      a. County seat.
      b. Other towns and villages.
      c. Historic sites.
  2. Population.
    (1) Sources of.
    (2) Character of.
    (3) Pioneer families.
    (4) Citizens prominent in state and national affairs.
    (5) Racial statistics.
      a. Proportions of whites and blacks before and after the war.
      b. Segregation.
  3. Occupations and Products.
  4. General Effects of War on the County.
    (1) Losses of men and property.
    (2) Battles, raids, etc.
  5. Sources of History.
    (1) Newspapers.
    (2) Official records.
    (3) Private collections of letters, diaries, and scrapbooks.
    (4) Interviews, with evidences of reliability.

II. Parties and Party Leaders in Reconstruction.
  1. Party Strength.
    (1) First alignments after the war.
    (2) Effects of suffrage acts of congress.
  2. Composition of Parties.
    (1) Democratic.
      a. Native whites, principally.
      b. Negroes under influence of native whites.
    (2) Republican.
      a. Scalawags (native whites).
        (a) Old Line Whigs.
        (b) Turncoats.
      b. Carpetbaggers (Northern whites).
      c. Negroes.
    (3) Independents.

3. Party Principles (platforms and resolutions).
   (1) Positions on local issues
   (2) Positions on general issues.
4. Party Leaders (county affairs).
   (1) Brief biographical sketches.
   (2) Traits of character.
   (3) Incidents and anecdotes.
   (4) Influences and services.

III. Organizations in Districts and County after the War.
1. Republican.
   (1) Federal troops.
      a. Number.
      b. Methods and period of activity.
      c. Effects.
   (2) Freedmen's Bureau.
      a. Composition.
      b. Methods and period of activity.
      c. Effects.
   (3) Loyal Leagues—number in county, leaders, etc.
      a. Number and composition.
      b. Methods and object.
      c. Effects.
   (4) Other organizations.
2. Democratic.
   (1) Ku Klux Klan.
      a. Composition and location of each den.
      b. Purposes and methods.
      c. Incidents.
   (2) "The Robinsons."
   (3) The White Camelia.
   (4) Other organizations.

IV. Government.
1. Personnel of County Officials.
   (1) Boards of police or supervisors.
   (2) Sheriffs and tax collectors.
   (3) Circuit and chancery clerks.
   (4) Beat officers (justices of peace, constables, etc.).

V. Campaigns and Elections.
1. Campaign Issues.
   (1) Before reconstruction act of March 23d.
   (2) After reconstruction act (1867, '69, '71, '73, '75).
2. Campaign and Election Methods.
   (1) Separate party meetings.
      a. Barbecues and picnics.
      b. Torch-light processions.
      c. Addresses.
   (2) Joint discussions.
      a. Public gatherings.
      b. Newspaper controversies.
   (3) Intimidation.
   (4) Election frauds.
   (5) Conflicts and disturbances.

VI. Social Conditions.
1. Efforts at Social Equality and Results.
2. Racial Conflicts and Disturbances.
3. Crimes (detailed enumeration).
4. Number and Character of Suits Shown by Court Records.

VII. Economic Conditions.
1. Immediate Effects of the War.
2. Labor Problems and Solutions.
(1) Reorganization under new conditions.
(2) Effects of black code on labor conditions.
(3) Effects of Freedmen's Bureau.
(4) Forms of contracts.
a. Wage hands.
b. Share tenants.
c. Apprentice system.
(5) Methods of control.
(6) Experiments with foreign labor.
3. Taxation.
(1) General discussions of public improvements.
(2) Fraudulent contracts (specific cases).
(3) Fraudulent use of county warrants (specific cases).
(4) Extravagant contracts (specific cases).
(5) Rates and kinds of taxation.
(6) Amount of taxable property and assessments.
(7) Total amount of property sold for taxes.
(8) Bankruptcy.
(9) Products and prices.

VIII. Educational Conditions.
1. General Features.
(1) Effects of war.
(2) School system from 1865 to 1869.
a. Number of schools.
b. Number of pupils.
c. Character of instruction.
(3) School system from 1869 to 1876.
a. Number of schools.
b. Number of pupils.
c. Character of instruction.
2. School Administration.
(1) Private schools.
(2) Public schools.
a. County superintendents.
b. District trustees.
c. Teachers, number and character.
(a) Native teachers of white and colored schools.
(b) Imported teachers of white and colored schools.
3. Expenditures.
(1) White schools.
a. Buildings.
b. Salaries.
c. Incidentals.
(2) Negro schools.
a. Buildings.

b. Salaries.
c. Incidentals.

4. Public Sentiment.
   (1) Cause of opposition to negro schools.
      a. Interference with labor.
      b. Northern teachers.
      c. Character of instruction.
   (2) Cases of violence.
      a. Destruction of buildings with specific causes in each case.
      b. Punishment of teachers with specific causes in each case.

IX. Religious Conditions.
   1. Religious Denominations at Outbreak of War.
   2. Effects of War on Church Organizations.
   3. Developments After the War.
      (1) White churches.
         a. Number, denominations, and membership.
         b. Church leaders.
         c. Methods and character of church work.
         d. Relations with negro churches.
      (2) Negro churches.
         a. Number, denominations, and membership.
         b. Church leaders.
         c. Methods and character of church work.
         d. Relations with white churches.
      (3) Destruction of church property.
         a. Specific instances with reasons therefor.
         b. Effects.

X. Municipal History, 1865-1876.

Appendix.—Census Statistics.

Table I. Owners of Slaves and Number Owned in County, 1860.
Table II. Population of County, 1860-1880.
Table III. Population of Minor Civil Districts of County, 1860-1880.
Table IV. Nativity of Population in County, 1870-1880.
Table V. Agricultural Statistics of County, 1860-1880.
Table VI. Size of Farms, 1860-1880.
Table VII. Classification of Farms according to Tenure, 1880.
Table VIII. General Manufacturing Statistics of County, 1860-1880.
Table IX. Selected Manufacturing Statistics of County, 1860-1880.
Table X. Assessed Valuation, Taxes and Indebtedness of County, 1860-1880.
Table XI. White and Negro Illiteracy in County, 1870-1880.
Table XII. Churches in County, 1860-1870.

APPENDIX II.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NECROLOGY.

With deep sadness your Committee on Necrology calls the attention of the Society to the great loss that has been sustained in the death of several of our most honored and useful members.

In the death of Hon. T. A. McWillie the State suffered a great loss. He was a man who united in a notable degree the rare qualities of the gentleman and scholar. He was patriotically devoted to the preservation of the history of Mississippi and often expressed regret that the exactions of a busy professional life would not premit him to make contributions to the *Publications* of our Society. He wrote the last report of our Committee on Necrology.

Clifton R. Sykes was a man of great financial ability and, while devoting himself assiduously to business, found time to manifest interest in the work and proceedings of this Society. He was one of the most prompt to respond to all calls for financial aid.

No other member of this Society was more useful and industrious than Hon. J. H. Jones. His was a long life of honorable and distinguished service in war and in peace. As a soldier, legislator, lawyer and citizen he illustrated those virtues that characterize the highest type of man. To the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society* he has made the following valuable contributions:

"Penitentiary Reform in Mississippi," Vol. VI, 111-128;
"The Rank and File at Vicksburg," Vol. VII, 17-31;
"Reconstruction in Wilkinson County," Vol. VIII, 153-175;
"Evolution of Wilkinson County," Vol. XI, 75-85.

Finally, we desire to mention the death of Judge W. P. S. Ventress. Of distinguished lineage, patriotic in impulse, eminent in civic service, he passed away in his prime, leaving a noble heritage. Judge Ventress was long identified with this Society and was one of its most useful and interested members.

Memorial sketches of these deceased members, which have been prepared by other members of your committee are appended hereto, as follows:

"Sketch of Hon. T. A. McWillie," by Dr. J. E. Walmsley; "Sketch of Hon. Clifton R. Sykes," by Hon. George J. Leftwich; "Sketch of Hon. J. H. Jones," by Dr. T. H. Somerville; "Sketch of Judge W. P. S. Ventress," by Dr. A. M. Muckenfuss.

Respectfully submitted, on behalf of the Committee,

G. G. HURST,
Chairman.

SKETCH OF HON. THOMAS A. McWILLIE.

BY J. E. WALMSLEY.

To few men is it given to be the companion of the wise, the coworker with the good, and the friend of the poor. Such a one deserves in truth the grand old name of gentleman. Hon. Thomas A. McWillie



HON. T. A. M'WILLIE



HON. CLIFTON R. SYKES

was a leader in the legal profession, an active and devoted churchman, a friend of rare charm, and a citizen whose death was mourned by the needy and destitute.

Born of one of the proudest old Southern families at the beginning of the last decade of antebellum days, he was just budding into manhood when in common with his fellow-citizens of a conquered State he was called on to help create a government and establish a civilization in what might truly be called revolutionary times. Never did he fail his people, and at the close of the ghastly period of reconstruction he was already a man marked with the badge of success.

After a comparatively brief service in the Mississippi legislature he devoted himself to his chosen profession, and soon won a commanding position in the State. Not only his ability but his personality has left its mark in the traditions of the fraternity. His law partner for near a score of years has said of him that he was the most popular and most beloved member of the Mississippi bar.

He was an active and enthusiastic member of the Mississippi Historical Society, and at its last meeting served as chairman of this Committee on Necrology. Gifted with a marked and singular love for literature, his public addresses were models of chaste and forceful English, and his private conversation was a delight and wonder to his friends.

To those who knew him best the secret of his strength lay in the integrity and purity of his soul. Absolutely unselfish in his emotions, true to his higher convictions, strong in his gentleness and gentle in his strength, he will long be one to whom the youth of the State may look for inspiration.

SKETCH OF HON. CLIFTON RIVES SYKES.

By George J. Leftwich.

Clifton R. Sykes, born April 13, 1867, died October 26, 1911, in his forty-fifth year. The "Old Homestead," Aberdeen, Mississippi, in which he was born and died, was built by his grandfather, Dr. George Augustus Sykes, in 1853, and was the home of his parents, Major Augustus James Sykes and Mrs. Georgia A. Sykes. He was descended from the Sykes, Wrenn, Turner and Rives families, who came from Yorkshire, England, many years prior to the Revolution and settled near Hicks' Ford, now Emporia, Greenville County, Virginia. The half way house of this well known family emigrating from Virginia to Mississippi was Northern Alabama in the Tennessee valley.

On the death of his father in 1882, when the subject of this sketch was only fifteen years of age, he had thrust upon him, and successfully assumed, the management of a large estate. This early misfortune limited his education to the public schools of Aberdeen, one year at the University of Mississippi, and a business course at Eastman's Business College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

In 1889 he became connected with the First National Bank of Aberdeen, then and now a leading financial institution of North Mississippi; at twenty-four he became its cashier, then the youngest national bank cashier in the United States. He was later elected president and so remained until his death, all the time by wise and conservative management adding to its prestige and success. Endowed with a large brain, he was given to wide investigation and exact thinking, and deliberately

formed the judgments on which he acted. Mr. Sykes had a genius for finance, and greatly enhanced the valuable estate which came to his keeping. Although born in affluence, he was a man of simple tastes and his life was without a moral obliquity. He was over six feet tall and was of strikingly handsome countenance and bearing. As he was apparently in perfect health when the end came, he passed away without warning to his friends.

He was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, a citizen of the highest integrity, enterprise, and benevolence; sensitive, modest, of domestic tastes, and deeply attached to his family, though he never married. He left surviving him his brother, Eugene Lanier Sykes, a prominent New York lawyer, who succeeded him as president of the First National Bank, of Aberdeen, and a sister, Mrs. Edward P. Peacock, of Clarksdale, Mississippi.

SKETCH OF HON. JAMES HENRY JONES.

By Thomas H. Somerville.

J. H. Jones of Huguenot stock, eldest son of John Edmund and Mary A. (Mellard) Jones, was born in Augusta County, Alabama, in the year 1838.

In 1856 he entered the University of Mississippi, from which institution he was graduated two years later with the first honors in a class of fifty-six. The following year he married Miss Helen M. Davis, daughter of William B. Davis, of Wilkinson County, Mississippi. He then removed to Bastrop, Texas, where he practiced law until the beginning of the War between the States, when he returned to Wilkinson County and raised a company known as the "Wilkinson Guards," which was incorporated into the 38th regiment of infantry. This regiment, under Price and Van Dorn, did valient service in the battles of Iuka and Corinth, and in the defense of Vicksburg, where it was captured at the surrender of that city. After its members were exchanged the regiment was assigned to the command of General Forrest, and took part in the battle of Harrisburg, where it sustained severe losses, including a wound to the subject of this sketch, and the death of two brothers, who were members of his company. He was then promoted to the rank of colonel to fill the place of Colonel McKay who was killed in that battle. In consequence of his wound Colonel Jones did not take part in General Forest's campaign in Tennessee. Later he was able to join his regiment, and remained with it until the surrender.

After the war he entered upon the active practice of the law at Woodville, Mississippi. From 1886 to 1890 he represented his county in the lower house of the legislature. In 1890 he was elected to the State senate and as a delegate from the State at large to the constitutional convention. He was lieutenant-governor of the State from 1896-1900. His life was one of activity and achievement. Neither place nor power had any attraction for him except as a means of service. He was a consistent member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. He died December 10, 1911.



HON. J. H. JONES



HON. W. P. S. VENTRESS

SKETCH OF JUDGE W. P. S. VENTRESS.

By A. M. Muckenfuss.

Judge W. P. S. Ventress was born in Wilkinson County, Mississippi, May 28, 1854. He was the third son of the late James A. Ventress, whose scholarship and sound judgment made him a prominent factor in the upbuilding of Mississippi. To him, perhaps, more than to any other man, is due credit for the establishment of the University of Mississippi.

Reared in a home of learning and culture and having access to one of the finest private libraries in the South, Judge Ventress early in life acquired the taste for broad reading that characterized his later years. He was prepared for the University of Virginia under private tutors and at Norwood Preparatory School. After graduating in law at the University of Mississippi he entered upon the practice of his profession at Woodville, Mississippi.

Judge Ventress was a prominent and useful citizen of his county and State. He was a member of the lower house from 1900 to 1902.

In 1902 he was appointed chancellor of his judicial district. After serving one term, he retired to resume the practice of law in association with Hon. J. H. Jones.

In 1893 Judge Ventress married Miss Willie Galloway, a daughter of Bishop C. B. Galloway, who, with three children, survives him.

In his native town this good and great man was universally beloved and admired and was the leading spirit in every movement for the uplift of the community. He was a member of the board of stewards of the Methodist Church and one of the trustees of the Edward McGehee College.

Soon after the organization of the Mississippi Historical Society, Judge Ventress became a valued member, always taking an active interest in its development.

In every respect Judge Ventress showed the strength and beauty of his character. As a judge he was firm, yet kind; as a member of the legislature he was industrious and conscientious; as an attorney he was just and resourceful; as a husband and father he was tender and considerate; and as a friend he was sympathetic and thoughtful.

After nearly four years of suffering, patiently borne, he "fell on sleep" November 22, 1911. While his genial presence will be missed, his influence will long be felt in the community where he was so well beloved.

JEFFERSON DAVIS' FIRST MARRIAGE.

By Walter L. Fleming.[1]

Legend deals freely with the early lives of most men who attain fame. Traditions cluster about every real happening in those years when records are few or are lacking, and it is frequently difficult even after careful research, to sift from the legendary chaff the grain of truth. About the early years of Jefferson Davis there are many conflicting stories, most of which have no foundation, though a few have some slight basis of fact. About his first marriage we find a mass of tradition, reminiscence and record that is almost hopelessly confused. In this paper an attempt is made to extract from the numerous contradictory accounts which have appeared during the last half century the true story of the marriage of Jefferson Davis and Sarah Knox Taylor. There were few events connected with that wedding of seventy-seven years ago so unusual that in the case of ordinary people they would long be remembered by any except intimate friends and the persons concerned, but Jefferson Davis became famous and tradition began its work.

At the beginning of the second quarter of the nineteenth century, when Jefferson Davis served in the United States army on the northwestern frontier, life at the military posts was monotonous in the extreme. The army career of the future statesman was spent on the outer edge of civilization, on the farthest frontier of white settlements and among unfriendly and often hostile Indians. The forts were merely rough places of safety for troops, and the officers, when ordered to such distant posts as Fort Crawford, Fort Winnebago, or Fort Snelling, usually left their families in the more settled States. The coming of a woman to one of these northwestern stations was an event to be cele-

[1]A biographical sketch of the author of this contribution will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, X, 247.—Editor.

brated. At Fort Winnebago, where Davis served for two years, there was, for a time, no white woman; later there was one, and then a second, but both were married. When the one officer's wife at Fort Winnebago brought an unmarried lady from the East to visit her, the young officers passed resolutions of thanks. When an unmarried officer who had been away from civilization for several years had the good fortune to be transferred to a post where there were young women, he was usually in a susceptible mood. So it was with Jefferson Davis, who in 1831, after a three years' tour of arduous duty in the woods and on the plains of Wisconsin and Iowa, was ordered to Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien. Fort Crawford had been made headquarters of the First United States Infantry, and here several of the garrison officers and some of the leading civilians of the frontier had brought their families.

Traditions about the early love affairs of Davis are remarkably few. The only one of interest is that he first became attached to Mary Dodge, daughter of Henry Dodge who was afterwards colonel of the First Dragoons, later Governor of Wisconsin Territory and, when the territory became a State, one of its United States Senators. Davis became acquainted with Miss Dodge in 1831 and saw much of her in 1832, and after the Black Hawk War. He and a Colonel Dement, it is said, were rivals for her favor. Colonel Dodge, with a predilection for people who had or could get good positions, favored the suit of Dement because the latter had enough influence with Andrew Jackson to secure a good federal office. It is to be inferred that the daughter's inclination coincided with her father's for she married Dement. But she always remembered kindly the other man. For a while Davis, it is said, was much disappointed, and later Dodge complained of Davis's opposition to his (Dodge's) candidacy for the governorship of Wisconsin. However, Davis was soon consoled elsewhere and retained only pleasant memories of the Dodges. A little note of his to the lady has been preserved, written just fifty years after he saw her for the last time, in which he says:

"Widely and long we have been separated but your image has not been dimmed by time and distance. * * * If you have preserved enough of

the pleasant memories of one springtime to care for one who flitted with you over the flowers of youth's happy garden, it will give me sincere gratification to hear from you and to learn of the welfare of yourself and children."[2]

The center of social life at Fort Crawford while Davis was stationed there was the home of Colonel Zachary Taylor, who in 1832 succeeded Colonel Willoughby Morgan in command of the First Infantry. The buildings were unfinished and some families had to live in tents, but Taylor's wife and daughters came to the frontier and other army wives and daughters came with them. Mrs. Taylor was a motherly, domestic woman, who, after long and rough frontier experience, had learned to make a home anywhere. There were three daughters in the Taylor family—Anne, Sarah Knox, and Betty. Anne, the eldest, married Dr. Robert Wood, later surgeon-general of the United States army. Her son, John Taylor Wood, who died recently in Nova Scotia, was a daring Confederate naval officer, and the last man to leave Jefferson Davis before his capture in 1865. Sarah Knox, the second daughter, eighteen years old when Davis first knew her, was her father's favorite. He called her Knox in honor of Washington's Secretary of War. Elizabeth, "Miss Betty," as she was known after she grew up, was then six years old. Richard, the only son, who thirty years later was famed as a brilliant and eccentric Confederate general, was at this time "a lubberly sort of a boy." A close friend of Sarah's was Mary Street, daughter of General J. M. Street, the Indian agent for that part of the western country.

Life at Fort Crawford was often monotonous to the young people. The arrival of a steamboat from St. Louis was an event, while in the winter the nearest settled parts of the States were a two weeks' journey away. Social relations on the frontier were free and easy and the older Taylor girls were noted for their love of mischief which frequently took the form of practical jokes. Once while on a fishing excursion they persuaded a young officer, named George Wilson, to climb a small sapling that overhung the river. They then took axes and hacked at the

[2]Stevens, *Black Hawk War*, p. 302; *Annals of Iowa*, October, 1897; Wilson Papers; Family traditions recorded by Mr. F. E. Stevens.

roots until it fell, carrying the lieutenant into the river. Since Davis, who was of the party, had some difficulty in seeing the point of a practical joke it is fortunate that he was not the victim. To while away the time the women and girls at the fort occupied themselves at Indian bead work, and some of them became quite expert. The only souvenir of Sarah Knox Taylor in existence is a small silk reticule worked with colored beads which she gave to Mary Street whose granddaughter now possesses it. The young people made the most of their few opportunities for amusement, and Davis, though he spent much of his time quietly reading law, was often thrown with the young daughters of the colonel and soon formed an attachment for Knox.

The mutual regard of the two young people quickly ripened into an engagement of marriage, subject to the approval of Colonel Taylor. By most people it would have been considered a proper match. Davis had the reputation of being one of the best of those young officers, sent out from West Point under the Thayer regime, who were now making their influence felt in army affairs. Personally he was attractive, though by some he was considered too reserved, almost austere. Probably the only person now (1907) living who ever saw Davis when he was an officer of the United States Army, said of him as he was the year of his engagement to Sarah Knox Taylor:

"I shall never forget him as I saw him first, a young lieutenant in the United States army, straight as an arrow, handsome and elegant. It was at the governor's mansion at Detroit; my brother was governor of Michigan, the State's first executive; Lieutenant Davis was our guest; the Black Hawk War in which he had greatly distinguished himself was just ended and he was bringing Black Hawk through the country. I was much impressed with the young lieutenant."[3]

But Colonel Taylor, with slight regard for the feelings of the young people, had other plans. He wanted his favorite daughter to marry a business man, return to civilization, and have a comfortable home. He did not intend that his daughters should be obliged to undergo the hardships that his mother and his wife

[3]Avary, *Dixie After the War*, p. 413. Statement of Emily V. Mason.

had experienced, and the wife of a poor army lieutenant would, he knew, live a rough life. Besides it was evident that the army in time of peace offered slight opportunities to an officer for a career. His daughter had been educated in the East and had lived in comfort among relatives in Kentucky; she knew little of the conditions of frontier life. Mrs. Taylor, having experienced the hardships of army life, agreed with her husband that her daughter ought not to marry in the army. So the marriage was forbidden.[4]

But Knox Taylor had much of her father's decision of character, and neither she nor Davis would accept Colonel Taylor's answer as final. Some of the senior officers of the post, friends of Davis, endeavored to persuade Taylor to consent to the marriage. To one of these, Captain Kearney, Taylor answered:

"I will be d—d if another daughter of mine shall marry into the army. I know enough of the family life of officers. I scarcely know my own children or they me. I have no personal objections to Lieutenant Davis."

Probably he would have relented; for one of his daughters was already an officer's wife and "Betty" was later permitted to marry into the army, but for an unfortunate and absurd quarrel that arose between Davis and himself. The circumstances were these: Four officers, Taylor, Davis, "Tom" Smith, and another whose name is not known, were detailed as a court martial. Taylor and Smith disliked each other exceedingly. The fourth officer had been ordered up to Fort Crawford from Jefferson Barracks and had lost or left behind his full dress uniform which it was the custom to wear when serving on court martial duty. So he asked the other members to excuse him from wearing uniform. Taylor voted not to excuse him, Smith voted, therefore, to excuse him, and Davis voted with Smith. This enraged "Old Rough and Ready" who after further irritation swore, it is said, that no man who voted with "Tom" Smith should ever marry his daughter.

Davis was ordered to cease his attentions to Miss Taylor and to come no more to her father's quarters. Davis had considerable

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[4]Davis, *Memoirs,* Vol. I, pp. 93, 95; Holloway, *Ladies of the White House,* p. 440.

temper himself and the quarrel grew hotter and hotter until finally Davis asked Captain McRee, later paymaster-general of the army in Mexico, to serve him as second and take a challenge to Colonel Taylor. The "code" was the accepted mode of settling difficulties in those days, and duels in the army were common, but McRee refused to serve as second or to take a challenge to Taylor unless Davis would first agree to give up the daughter. Davis would not consent, so McRee refused "to help him shoot his own father-in-law."[5]

This account of the disagreement between Taylor and Davis is somewhat discredited by records preserved by the family of Lieutenant George Wilson, one of Davis's intimate friends, which indicate that the stories of the quarrel are exaggerated. The Wilson records prove that officially Taylor never discriminated against Davis, but that on the contrary he often chose him for important details, such as looking after the lead mines in Illinois and commanding the escort that carried Black Hawk to Jefferson Barracks. Wilson reports also that other young officers thought Davis was favored by Colonel Taylor, for, in 1833, when a lieutenant was to be promoted and transferred to the new Dragoon Regiment Davis was selected. Another opinion was that Taylor was very willing for the handsome and impecunious young lieutenant to leave the regiment in order that his daughter might forget him.

It is certain that Taylor continued to oppose the marriage. Miss Taylor refused to break the engagement unless her father would give her what she considered "a good reason" for so doing. She told her father that she would never marry without his consent and that she would never marry any one but Davis. "The time will come," she said, "when you will see as I do all his rare qualities."[6] The young people had some difficulty in their love making after Davis was forbidden the house, but friends assisted them. Mrs. McRee, who lived in a tent frequently

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[5]Reminiscences of Mrs. McRee, in Davis *Memoirs,* Vol. I, p. 95, and of Charles Gibson in the St. Louis newspapers of January 5, 1890.

[6]*New York Times,* October 20, 1906; statement authorized by Mrs. Phillip Pendleton Dandridge ("Betty" Taylor).

invited Miss Taylor to visit her, and Davis would make it convenient to call at the same time. There in the midst of crowded housekeeping, romping children and other things superfluous, they managed to keep the spark alive. After a time the mother relented and consented to the meetings. Colonel Taylor, according to family accounts written down in later years, knew of them but did not withdraw his opposition.

Miss Mary Street, Knox Taylor's devoted friend, and her admirer, Lieutenant George Wilson, were in a like situation. General Street objected, as Colonel Taylor had done, to his daughter's marriage to an army officer. The young people finally made an arrangement satisfactory to the four. Davis and Wilson each called at the home where he had no intentions, and when Davis called at General Street's he found Miss Taylor there also; and Wilson would find Miss Street at Colonel Taylor's. When Davis escorted Black Hawk to Jefferson Barracks in 1832, Miss Street was sent down on the same boat on her way to school to get her away from the attentions of Wilson. One of the last recorded reminiscences of Davis was that on the way down to St. Louis he delivered a letter from Wilson to Miss Street by bribing the chambermaid on the boat. She and Wilson were married before Davis and Miss Taylor. At the wedding on March 26, 1835, the attendants were Miss Taylor and Major E. A. Hitchcock, Davis's West Point friend and instructor. A few years before Davis died he saw Mrs. Wilson again in St. Louis and recognizing her at once with "Well, well, Mary! How do you do?" saluted her with a kiss.[7]

Mrs. Phillip Pendleton Dandridge, who was "Betty" Taylor, the youngest of the Taylor sisters, said that after parental opposition ceased somewhat the lovers had little difficulty in meeting. Miss Taylor would take Betty and Dick out for a walk. Davis would soon appear and the children would be told by their sister that they might play a little. Mrs. Dandridge described them as "ideal lovers." And so the lovers contrived until 1833 when Davis

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[7] *Annals of Iowa*, Vol. IV, pp. 566, 567 (January, 1901). Correspondence, December 23, 1900.

left Fort Crawford to join the new Dragoon Regiment at Fort Gibson in the Indian Territory.[8]

During the next two years when Davis was in the Far West with the Dragoons he and Miss Taylor kept up a correspondence, and finally decided to marry during the summer of 1835 even if Colonel Taylor should continue to withhold his consent. There is no evidence that they saw each other during Davis's service with the Dragoons. During the Civil War all of the papers of Jefferson Davis left at his Mississippi home were confiscated by the Federals. Among the papers a Federal soldier, named Spillman Willis, of the Thirty-third Illinois Regiment, found the following letter from Davis to General Taylor's daughter:

FORT GIBSON, December 16, 1834.

TO MISS SARAH K. TAYLOR,

Prairie du Chien:

'Tis strange how superstitions sometimes affect us, but stranger still what aids chance sometimes bring to support our superstitions. Dreams, my dear Sarah, we will agree, are our weakest thoughts, and yet by my dreams I have been lately almost crazed, for they were of you, and the sleeping imagination painted you, not as I felt you, not such as I could live and see you, for you seemed a sacrifice to your parents' desire, the bride of a wretch that your pride and sense equally compelled you to despise. A creature here, telling the news of the day in St. Louis, said you were about to be married to a Doctor McLarin, a poor devil, who served with the battalion of rangers. Possibly you may have seen him. But last night the vision was changed. You were at the house of an uncle in Kentucky. Captain McCree was walking with you. When I met you he left you and you told me of your father and of yourself, almost the same that I have read in your letter to-night. Kind, dear letter; I have kissed it often and it has driven away mad notions from my brain.

Sarah, whatever I may be hereafter, neglected by you I should have been worse than nothing, and if the few good qualities I possess shall, under your smiles yield fruit, it shall be yours, as the grain is the husbandman's. It has been a source productive of regret with me that our union must separate you from your earliest and best friends. I am prepared to expect all that intellect and dignified pride brings. The question, as it has occurred to you, is truly startling. Your own answer is the most gratifying to me; is that which I should have expected from you, for you are the first with whom I ever sought to cast my fortune, so you are the last from whom I would expect desertion. When I wrote to you I supposed you did not intend soon to return to Kentucky. I approve entirely of your preference to a meeting elsewhere than at Prairie du Chien, and your desire to avoid any embarrassments which

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[8]Statement authorized by Mrs. Dandridge, *New York Times,* October 20, 1906. *Reminiscences of the Wilson families.*

might widen the breach made already cannot be greater than my own. Did I know when you would be at St. Louis I could meet you there. At all events, we will meet in Kentucky. Shall we not meet soon, Sarah, to part no more? Oh I long to lay my head upon that breast which beats in unison with my own, to turn from the sickening sights of worldly duplicity and look in those eyes, so eloquent of purity and love.

Do you remember the heart's-ease you gave me? It is as bright as ever. How very gravely you ask leave to ask me a question. My dear girl, I have no secrets from you. You have a right to ask me any question without apology. Miss Bullitt did not give me a guard for a watch, but if she had do you suppose I would have given it to Captain McCree? But I'll tell you what she did give me—a most beautiful and lengthy lecture on my and your dreams once upon an evening at a fair in Louisville. You can, and I have left you to guess what, besides a resistibility to your charms, constituted my offense.

Pray, what manner of message could La Belle Florine have sent you concerning me? I hope no attempt to destroy harmony. I laughed at her demonstration against the attachment of dragoons, but that, between you and I, is not fair gains; it is robbing to make another poor. But, no, she is too discerning to attempt a thing so difficult and in which success would be valueless. Miss Elizabeth, one very handsome lady—Oh Knox, what did you put that semi-colon between 'handsome' and 'lady' for. I hope you find in the society of the Prairie enough to amuse, if not to please. The griefs over which we weep are not those to be dreaded; it is the little pains, the constant falling of the drops of care, which wear away the heart.

Since I wrote you we abandoned the position in the Creek nation and are constructing quarters at Fort Gibson. My lines, like the beggar's day, are dwindling to the shortest span.

Write to me immediately, my dear Sarah, my bethrothed; no formality between us. *Adieu ma chere, tres chere amie.*

JEFF.

Davis sent his resignation to take effect June 30, 1835, and during the month of June he was granted leave of absence from his regiment which was stationed at Fort Gibson, a frontier post then in Arkansas, now in the Indian Territory part of Oklahoma. He went to St. Louis and from there completed the arrangements for the marriage. Miss Taylor now asked her father to give good reasons why she should not marry Davis and she would give him up. He would only say that he did not want his daughter to marry into the army, and she prepared to go to her relatives in Kentucky, near Louisville, to be married.

At this point the stories of the elopement begin. There are various versions and all have had persistent existence since the Civil War; one has it that the young people eloped during the winter of 1834-1835, going in a sleigh to Galena where they were married; another is that Davis stole his bride from the upper

window of her father's house and they went across the river to Iowa and were married on the boat by a Catholic priest; and yet another is that they were married in St. Louis in a house that is still pointed out, at the corner of Monroe and Hall Streets. A fourth story was that they fled by night from Prairie du Chien taking four horses from Taylor's stables and that along with them eloped their friends, George Wilson and Miss Mary Street. At Fort Gibson, Indian Territory, the tradition is handed down that Davis and "Betty" Taylor eloped from that post. There is no foundation for any of these stories and most of them are of comparatively late origin. The story of the runaway marriage angered Davis very much, especially after it appeared in Appleton's *Cyclopedia of American Biography* in 1888. He then denounced the story of the "romantic elopement" as a "baseless scandal."[9] A detailed statement of Davis would have settled the whole matter but he would never discuss it, for, as a friend said, "The dead whom in life he has loved, he shrinks from bringing up; for the pain and sense of their loss never grows old; and so he has held his early marriage sacred from the gossip of the curious."[10]

Even the second Mrs. Davis knew little about the first wife, as her account shows. The only known facts about Miss Taylor's departure from Prairie du Chien are these: Captain McRee, at Fort Crawford, engaged passage to Louisville on a St. Louis steamboat for Miss Taylor who had prepared her trousseau at home. Her father frequently came on board the boat on business after his daughter had gone to her stateroom. Captain McRee tried to arrange a reconciliation between them, and Miss Taylor "on bended knee begged his forgiveness and consent to the marriage, but in vain," and she went on to her relatives in Kentucky where Davis was to join her, and the marriage was to take place in the early fall.

At this point we again have conflicting accounts as to Colonel

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[9]*Fort Smith Times Record,* August 1, 1909; Jones, Memorial Volume, p. 449; Wilson Papers; Davis, *Memoirs,* Vol. I, p. 162; *Philadelphia Press* (clippings).

[10]Wilson Papers.

Taylor's conduct. The usual story is that Taylor never forgave his daughter; that he said, "No truly honorable man would thus defy the wishes of parents and no truly affectionate daughter be so regardless of her duty."[11] But Mrs. Dandridge and the other Taylor relatives have insisted that Taylor was never estranged from his daughter, though he opposed the marriage. While it is certain that Taylor did not approve the marriage there are facts to indicate that he was relenting. His daughter was in Kentucky for some time before her marriage and her father wrote to his sister, Mrs. John Gibson Taylor, that "if Knox was still determined to marry Lieutenant Davis he would no longer withhold his consent, but wished her to marry at her aunt's house."[12] Though it was first decided that the wedding should take place in the fall, after some delay an earlier date, June 17th, was fixed and Davis came to Louisville. Mrs. Dandridge has declared that Colonel Taylor would have attended the wedding but for the fact that he was ordered to the Falls of St. Anthony, now Fort Snelling, Minnesota, to keep hostile Indians in check.

On the morning of the wedding day the bride-to-be wrote to her mother of the approaching marriage. This letter which follows, is one of the few written by the first Mrs. Davis that have been preserved:

LOUISVILLE, June 17, 1835.

You will be surprised, no doubt, my dear mother, to hear of my being married so soon. When I wrote to you last I had no idea of leaving here before fall; but hearing the part of the country to which I am going is quite healthy I have concluded to go down this summer and will leave here this afternoon at 4 o'clock; will be married as you advised in my bonnet and traveling dress. I am very much gratified that sister Ann is here. At this time having one member of the family present, I shall not feel so entirely destitute of friends. But you, my dearest

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[11]Holloway, *Ladies of the White House,* p. 440.

[12]Annah Robinson Watson, *Some Notable Families of America,* pp. 9, 10; Mrs. Watson is a granddaughter of Hancock Taylor, oldest uncle of Sarah Knox Taylor. Her account coincides with the letters and the recollections of the Wilson family and with the statements of other Taylor relatives, among them Mrs. Dandridge and Mrs. Annah P. (Taylor) Edwards, daughter of Mrs. Gibson Taylor.

mother, I know will still retain some feelings of affection for a child who has been so unfortunate as to form a connection without the sanction of her parents, but who will always feel the deepest affection for them whatever may be their feelings toward her. Say to my dear father I have received his kind and affectionate letter, and thank him for the liberal supply of money sent me. Sister will tell you all that you wish to know about me. I will write as soon as I get down and as often as my mother may wish to hear from me, and do, my kind ma, write. I shall feel so much disappointed and mortified if you do not. I send a bonnet by sister, the best I could get. I tried to get you some cherries to preserve, but could not. Sally has kindly offered to make your preserves this summer. Farewell, my dear mother; give my best love to pa and Dick.

Believe me always, your affectionate daughter,

KNOX.

The wedding took place at Beechland, the home of John Gibson Taylor, near Louisville. Davis's own statement about it is this:

"In 1835 I resigned from the army and Miss Taylor being then in Kentucky with her aunt—the oldest sister of General Taylor—I went thither and we were married in the presence of General Taylor's two sisters, of his oldest brother, of his son-in-law, and many other members of the family."[13]

This statement omits some interesting details which have been handed down in the Taylor family. Mrs. Anna Magill Robinson, who was one of the Taylor children present at the wedding says:

"My Cousin Knox Taylor was very beautiful, slight, and not very tall, with brown wavy hair and clear gray eyes, very lovely and lovable and a young woman of decided spirit. She was dressed in a dark traveling dress with a small hat to match. Lieutenant Davis was dressed, in a long-tail cutaway coat, brocaded waistcoat, breeches tight-fitting and held under the instep with a strap, and a high stovepipe hat. He was of slender build, had polished manners, and was of a quiet, intellectual countenance."

Just before the ceremony Davis arrived in a disturbed state of mind. The clerk of the court had refused to grant the license "upon the plea that the bride-elect was under age." Her uncle, Hancock Taylor, went back with Davis to the city and upon his

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[13]Davis, *Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 162.

oath that Sarah Knox Taylor, was of lawful age the license was procured.[14]

The ceremony was performed by Rev. Mr. Ashe, rector of Christ Church in Louisville, who did not return the papers to the county clerk, so that to-day the records show only that the license was issued.[15]

Those present were Hancock Taylor and wife, Mrs. John Gibson Taylor; Doctor and Mrs. Wood, the older sister of Knox Taylor, and the children of the two families. The attendants were Sally and Nicholas Lewis Taylor, cousins of the bride. One witness of the ceremony is still living in Louisville, Kentucky—Mrs. Anna Magill Robinson, the daughter of Hancock Taylor. She was eleven years of age at the time. She remembers that "after the service everybody cried but Davis, and the Taylor children thought this most peculiar."[16]

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[14]The most circumstantial account of this incident is related in the *Confederate Veteran* of August, 1909: "The wedding was set for the afternoon of the 17th, and as the happy bridegroom was riding in his buggy through the shady roads he was hailed by Patrick (Pendleton) Pope, the County Court Clerk, who had issued the license, who said: 'Lieutenant, will you let me see that license? I want to look at it again.' When he took the license in his hands, he deliberately tore it into bits and threw them in the road. Dumfounded, the bridegroom, whose wedding was not three hours off, stared at the man and demanded an explanation of what seemed the act of a madman. The clerk said he had been informed that Miss Taylor was under age and that her father was intensely antagonistic to the marriage.

There was not time for arguments. So Lieutenant Davis drove quickly to the house of the bride's relatives and told the story. Hancock Taylor was very indignant, and called his sister, Mrs. Gibson Taylor, to the conference. She said she had lately receive a letter from her brother Zachary, in which he stated that he still opposed the marriage for old reasons, but that his daughter was of age; and if she persisted in her intention, the wedding had best take place in the family home. This was enough for Hancock Taylor, who with his nephew-elect drove rapidly to the courthouse. Here he swore to the bride's age, twenty-two, and demanded of Clerk Pope a reissuance of the license. With this they returned, the horse covered with foam from the swift drive."

[15]The records of Jefferson county show the following entry: "June 17, 1835. Jefferson Davis to Sarah Knox Taylor, daughter of Colonel Zachary Taylor, and of lawful age as proved by the oath of Hancock Taylor."

[16]She was interviewed in 1907 for the writer by Mr. John Wilson Townsend of Lexington, Ky. For the other facts mentioned the authorities are Mrs. Watson's *Some Notable Families of America,* pp. 9, 10, and the

After the ceremony the bride and groom left for Mississippi to visit Joseph E. Davis at his plantation called "Hurricane." Joseph E. Davis was the oldest of the Davis brothers, and it was he who persuaded Jefferson to resign from the army, and after his marriage come back to Mississippi to plant cotton and enter politics. To establish the young people Joseph E. Davis gave to his brother a tract of land known as "The Brierfield" and sold him fourteen slaves on credit. From Warrenton, Mississippi, on August 11, 1835, Mrs. Jefferson Davis wrote her last letter to her mother. In this, after referring to the news contained in a letter just received from home, she says:

"Mr. Davis sends his best respects to you. Did you receive the letter he wrote from St. Louis? * * * Write to me, my dear mother, as often as you can find time, and tell me all concerning you. Do not you make yourself uneasy about me, the country is quite healthy."

Jefferson Davis worked with his negroes at opening the place until the fever season arrived when he and his wife, being unacclimated, went to visit his sister, Mrs. Luther Smith, of Locust Grove plantation, in West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana. But they had remained too late in Mississippi, and after their arrival in Louisiana both fell ill with malarial fever. Davis was too ill himself to be told of his wife's danger, but, after she became delirious, he heard her voice singing a favorite song, "Fairy Bells," and rising from his bed he reached her side in time to see her die unconscious. She had always expected to die early. She was buried in the Locust Grove Cemetery and there in a dark grove her neglected tomb is to-day. Five years later her father removed the family home to Baton Rouge, a few miles away, and there it remained until he was in inaugurated as President.

The first Mrs. Davis was a handsome woman, refined, well educated, and intellectual, with great strength of character inherited from both her father and her mother. No likeness of her exists, but we have several descriptions of her. "Betty," her

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Jefferson County (Ky.), records which were searched for me by the County Clerk, Mr. Phil B Thompson. See also *Courier-Journal*, 1907; *Times-Democrat*, New Orleans, October 8, 1907; *Times-Dispatch*, November 11, 1906; *Confederate Veteran*, August, 1909; *Picayune*, August 28, 1910, which gave additional details.

sister, remembered her as "extremely pretty, small, with dark eyes, with great vivacity and charm of manner, winning every one who knew her."[17] Anna Taylor, her cousin, who was at the wedding, said that she "was very handsome, as graceful as a nymph and the best dancer in the State of Kentucky. She was witty, fascinating and clever."[18] Posey Wilson, the son of George Wilson and Mary Street, who wrote down his mother's recollections of young Mrs. Davis, said:

"She had an exquisitely beautiful figure, but was not a pretty woman. She was dark, small, and much like her father, particularly as to her forehead which though indicating strength and courage, moral and physical in a man, was not particularly becoming to a woman. She had her father's splendid hazel eye and strong even teeth, and her mother's domestic traits and amiability."

It is related that once, long after her death, Davis in looking through the contents of an old trunk came upon one of her slippers and was so overcome by emotion that he lost consciousness. For ten years after her death he lived in seclusion at Brierfield.

Of the so-called reconciliation between Davis and Colonel Taylor the accounts are conflicting. The Wilsons maintain that there was no violent estrangement to heal; the second Mrs. Davis, who, however, had no details from her husband, remarks that the trouble was not smoothed over "during the life of Mrs. Davis," but states that the two met again as friends in February, 1845, on a Mississippi River steamboat, when Davis was on his way to Natchez to marry Miss Varina Howell.[19] So there was no dramatic reconciliation at Monterey nor at Buena Vista, as is often asserted. In the Boston Public Library is a letter written by Colonel Taylor from Matamoras on August 3, 1846, to Colonel Davis, the tone of which makes it certain that at that time there was no ill feeling on the part of Taylor, and hence no reconciliation was necessary. The Taylor letters recently published by Mr. W. K. Bixby, of St. Louis, show that during 1846-1847 Davis and Taylor were good friends. In the newspapers and in

[17]Statement in *New York Times*, October 20, 1906.
[18]Paper from Miss Taylor, R. F. D. 19, St. Matthews, Ky.
[19]Davis, *Memoirs*, Vol. I, pp. 162, 164, 199.

Congress Davis defended Taylor's course during the Mexican War. At the White House when Taylor was President, Davis was a frequent visitor and in after life the members of the Taylor family were his firm friends.[20]

Beechland, the house in which the marriage took place still stands near Louisville in a dilapidated condition. It is now owned by German gardeners. The upper story has been removed and negro tenants use the rest, while round the yard are farm implements, and pigs, and chickens. Nothing but a crumbling chimney remains of the Mississippi home to which Davis brought his bride in the morning of the century. Half a hundred years later a gray old man whose deeds will rank him with the immortals and whose ambitions all lay behind him, made his last visit to Brierfield, there contracted the same fever that had killed his young wife, and went down the river to die at New Orleans.

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[20]In addition to the traditional accounts of the "elopement" this paper is based upon the Wilson family papers, documents in the historical collection of Mr. F. E. Stevens, of Chicago, the letters of Governor Dodge, the records of Jefferson County, Kentucky, and the papers and recorded statements of Miss Emily V. Mason, Mrs. Philip Pendleton Dandridge, Mrs. Anna McGill Robinson, Mr. Harry W. Robinson, Mrs. Annah Taylor Edwards, and Mrs. Annah Robinson Watson. For access to the above mentioned I have to thank Miss Virginia A. Taylor, St. Matthews, Kentucky; Mr. John Wilson Townsend, Lexington, Kentucky; Mr. Joseph A. Wilson, Lexington, Missouri; Mr. F. E. Stevens, Chicago, and Mr. Phil B. Thompson, Louisville, Kentucky. Material was also gotten from the *Times-Dispatch,* November 11, 1906; *Washington Post* (clippings); *New York Times,* October 20, 1906; *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (clippings); *Philadelphia News* (clippings); *Picayune,* April 28, 1909; *Courier-Journal,* 1907; *Confederate Veteran,* August, 1909. This paper was written in 1907 and in 1911 revised by the addition of a number of facts which have been brought out in recent years.

NULLIFICATION IN MISSISSIPPI.

By Miss Cleo Hearon.[1]

The position of Mississippi in the controversy over the protective tariff is especially interesting because, in the long and bitter struggle over slavery, Mississippi came to accept the doctrine of complete State sovereignty and the consequent rights of nullification and secession laid down by South Carolina in this crisis, and was hardly second to that State in the final movement that carried the doctrine of State sovereignty to its logical conclusion,—secession.

In 1828, at the time of the passage of "the tariff of abominations," Mississippi was a young frontier community, the experiences and interests of which had made it national in sentiment and a supporter of the party in control of the general government. George Poindexter, delegate of the Mississippi Territory in congress, voiced the sentiments of his constituents, in 1811, when he interrupted the disunion speech of Josiah Quincy, in the house of representatives, on the admission of Louisiana into the Union, and appealed to the speaker "Whether it be competent

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[1]Cleo Hearon was born in Lowndes County, Mississippi, October 27, 1879. Her father, James Hamilton Hearon, and her mother, Laura Shinn, were also born in Lowndes County. Her father's family was from the Darlington District of South Carolina and her mother's, of Quaker descent, came to New Jersey in the seventeenth century. One of the family moved South with his slaves when the opposition to slavery grew strong among his Quaker brethren; and a descendant, Captain Joseph Shinn, lived in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, during the Revolutionary War.

Miss Hearon received her preparatory education in Denver, Colorado, and Bristol, Virginia, and her college training in the State College for Women in Columbus, Mississippi, and the University of Chicago. She was graduated from the latter institution in 1903, and received a Master's degree in History in 1909. She is now (1912) Fellow in History in the University of Chicago and is pursuing a course for the degree of Ph. D. Miss Hearon is on leave of absence from the Industrial Institute and College of Mississippi, in the faculty of which she has been for a period of five years, first in the English department and then in History.—Editor.

in any member of this house to invite any portion of the people to insurrection, and of course to dissolution of the Union."[2] In the second war with Great Britain, the territory gave its aid valiantly to protect the Southwest from both the Indians and the British, in testimony of which Jackson, afterwards, in speaking before the governor and the legislature of the State, praised the exhaustless energy and patriotism with which Mississippi had poured out her resources and sent forth her sons to the conflict.[3]

Perhaps the factors that had been most effective in creating this national sentiment in Mississippi were those that were, at this period, binding the people of the State most firmly to the support of the national government: the land and the Indian questions. June 30, 1828, of the 31,074,234 acres of land in Mississippi, 11,514,517 acres were in the possession of the United States, and 16,885,760 in the possession of the Indians.[4] Therefore, the most important political and economic questions facing the State were the removal of the Indians and the adoption of a land policy by the government of the United States that would be most favorable to the promotion of the speedy settlement and development of the State. On both of these questions, the people of Mississippi and Andrew Jackson were heartily in accord, and they rallied enthusiastically to the support of the national government under the control of the "old Hero," whom they had followed in battle and who embodied their frontier ideals of government and had at heart the furtherance of their main economic interests.

But there were factors already at work that would operate long after the land and the Indian questions were finally settled, and ultimately completely reverse the attitude of the State towards the Union and the Federal government. The rich, virgin soil, especially adapted to the cultivation of cotton, invited

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[2] *Annals of Congress,* II Congress, 3 Session, 1810-1811, 525-6, Jan. 14, 1811.

[3] Jackson's speech before the Governor and the Legislature of Miss., Jan. 20, 1828. Quoted in Rowland's *Encyclopedia of Mississippi History,* I, 290.

[4] *American Almanac,* 1832, 149.

the slave owner and the would-be slave owner from other States. In the decade from 1820 to 1830, the number of slaves in the State increased from 32,814 to 65,659,[5] and Mississippi became a purely agricultural community dependent on slave labor for its prosperity. By 1828, though the governor might condemn slavery as an "evil at best,"[6] the economic, social, and political systems of Mississippi were organized on that institution and the State was definitely committed to it and to the policies that its presence demanded.

Among the national policies at this time, the one that aroused most feeling and on which the sections divided because of their economic interests was the tariff. In 1816, when Clay and Calhoun, working together to restore prosperity to the country after the War of 1812, sought to carry through a tariff that would furnish protection to the industries established during the struggle with England and contribute to the economic independence of the United States, John Randolph, true to his beloved Virginia and his section, and understanding clearly the impossibility of building up manufactories with slave labor, opposed the measure because it bore "on poor men and on slave holders."[7] His section did not see with his vision and was divided in its opposition to the bill.[8] But with the growth of slavery, the conscious acceptance of it as the basis of the economic organization of the South, and the assumption that this committed the section to an exclusively agricultural regime; and with the growth of the demands of the manufacturing interests for increased protection, the sentiment in the South against the tariff grew to such an extent that, with the exception of Kentucky, it was almost unanimously opposed to the tariff of 1824 and bitterly hostile to that of 1828,[9] which marks the high-water mark of protection before the War of Secession.

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[5]Total population in 1820, 75,448; in 1830, 136,806—*American Almanac,* 1832, 236; *U. S. Fifth Census,* 1830, 102-3.

[6]Message of Governor Brandon to the Legislature in 1828, Claiborne's *History of Mississippi,* I, 386.

[7]*Annals of Congress,* 14 Congress, 1 Session, 1815-16, 842.

[8]Dewey's *Financial History of the U. S.,* 163.

[9]Ibid, 173-183.

A protective tariff in the United States involves two fundamental questions, *i. e.,* whether protection is for the social and economic good of the country, and whether it is constitutional. The tariff of 1816 was considered from the point of view of expediency and had been passed because it was thought to be for the good of all. When the South was faced with the tariff of 1828, it well knew that to attack it with economic arguments was useless for its adherents of the manufacturing States of the East and the wool and hemp growing States of the West and Southwest were too firmly persuaded of its advantages. Therefore the arguments against the tariff during this period are based on its constitutionality. As early as 1825, the legislature of South Carolina had declared that "to lay duties to protect domestic manufactures" was "an unconstitutional exercise of power on the part of Congress."[10] The passage of the "tariff of abominations" aroused the agricultural South to a high pitch of indignation, and governors and legislatures of the Southern States condemned the act as unconstitutional and unjust. South Carolina, already the acknowledged leader of her section in its opposition to a protective tariff, protested through her legislature against it as destructive to the interests of South Carolina and "unconstitutional, oppressive, and unjust,"[11] and adopted as a report "The South Carolina Exposition" written by John C. Calhoun. The constitutional arguments in "The Exposition" are those of the Kentucky and the Virginia resolutions and Madison's report to the Virginia legislature in 1800; but Calhoun goes farther than Jefferson and Madison and definitely sets forth the "modes and measures of redress" by which a State may "interpose" to protect its rights against the encroachments of the Federal government. It belongs to a State in convention assembled, according to "The Exposition," "to determine, authoritatively, whether the acts of which we complain be unconstitutional; and, if so, whether they constitute a violation so deliber-

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[10]Resolutions of South Carolina on Internal Improvements and the Tariff, Dec. 16, 1825. Ames' *State Documents on Federal Relations,* IV, 7-8.

[11]Protest of S. C. against the Tariff of 1828, Dec. 19, 1828. Macdonald's *Select Documents of U. S. History,* 1776-1861, 231-4.

ate, palpable, and dangerous, as to justify the interposition of the State to protect its rights. If this question be decided in the affirmative, the convention will then determine in what manner they ought to be declared null and void within the limits of the State; which solemn declaration, based on her rights as a member of the Union, would be obligatory, not only on her own citizens, but on the general government itself; and thus place the violated rights of the State under the shield of the Constitution."[12] The only recourse of the Federal government, in such a case, is an appeal to all the States. If three-fourths of these sustain the contention of the Federal government, the power in dispute becomes a granted power.[13] and the State must submit or secede.[14] But the legislature of South Carolina was "restrained from the assertion of the sovereign rights of the State by the hope that the magnanimity and justice of the good people of the Union will effect the abandonment of a system, partial in its nature, unjust in its operation, and not within the powers delegated to Congress"; and, to ascertain the opinion of the other States and to invite their co-operation, sent copies of its resolution to the governors of the other States, to be laid before the several legislatures.[15]

The protests of South Carolina were followed by resolutions of the legislatures of Georgia and Virginia declaring the tariff unconstitutional, partial in its operation, impolitic, and oppressive to a large portion of the people of the Union, and urging its repeal.[16]

The interests of Mississippi identified her with South Carolina in opposing a protective system, but restrained her from accepting the "modes and measures of redress" proposed by Calhoun. Governor Brandon, reflecting these interests, in his message to the legislature at the beginning of 1829, questioned the policy of encouraging industry by tariffs; but noted with satisfaction that

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[12]*The Works of Calhoun,* VI, 45.
[13]Ibid, 50.
[14]Ibid, 55.
[15]Resolutions of S. C., Dec. 20, 1828. Ames's *State Documents,* IV, 20-21.
[16]Ames' *State Documents,* IV, 21-25.

the threats "of determined and hostile resistance" to the tariff law of 1828 among the sister Southern State had "happily settled in a resolution to resist the policy alone by constitutional means."[17] The legislature of Mississippi, acting in accord with this sentiment, passed resolutions declaring "that the tariff of 1828 is contrary to the spirit of the Constitution of the United States; impolitic and oppressive in its operation in the Southern States, and ought to be resisted by all constitutional means," and "instructed" their senators in congress and "requested" their representatives "to use their best exertions to effect a revision or repeal of the present Tariff."[18] A year later, February 5, 1830, the legislature again expressed the opposition of the State to the policy of protection, by passing a resolution concurring with the States of Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia in the soundness of the policy expressed in the different resolutions on the tariff, the colonization society, and internal improvements.[19]

However opposed Mississippi might be to the policy of protection, the devotion of its people to Andrew Jackson was sufficient to insure the support of the State to the national government while it was under his direction.[20] Partly because of his influence and partly because of interests and inclinations attaching her to the Union, Mississippi was unwilling to break with the Federal government, and only a small minority of the people of the State actually supported South Carolina in the assertion of the right to nullify an act of congress and the defiance of the president in the exercise of that right. Many were in this small minority not primarily because they favored nullification, but rather because they were hostile to Jackson. For the constitutionality and the expediency of the tariff and nullification became confused with the great personal antagonism between Jackson and

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[17]Rowland's *Encyclopedia of Mississippi History*, I, 290.

[18]Resolutions of Mississippi, Feb. 5, 1829, *Laws of Mississippi*, 1829, 108-109; Ames, IV, 24.

[19]Resolutions of Mississippi, Feb. 5, 1830, *Laws of Mississippi*, 1830, p. 194.

[20]Jackson's hold upon the state is shown by the presidential election returns of 1828 and 1832. In the first election he received 6,714 votes and John Quincy Adams 1,674; in the second, he received 6,110 and Clay 791.

Calhoun and the lesser antagonisms between Jackson and those who had dared oppose him. Among the leaders of this minority in Mississippi were John A. Quitman and George Poindexter.

Quitman, the most consistent of States Rights men, was an ardent opponent of the tariff. July 31, 1831, he wrote to J. F. H. Claiborne, from his old home in New York, that he hoped Calhoun or some anti-tariff man would become a candidate for the presidency in 1832, and that, if Van Buren were a decided tariff and internal improvement man, he had no notion of smoothing his road to the presidency by a compromising course of policy.[21] On his return to Mississippi, Quitman entered into opposition to the administration; advised against the nomination of Van Buren for the presidency, chiefly because of his alleged support of the tariff; and declared himself for Calhoun. He organized a State Rights association in Adams County and through his influence similar associations were formed in Amite, Hinds, Wilkinson, and two or three other counties. J. F. H. Claiborne declares, however, that these associations accomplished very little, as the State rights movement had little sympathy in Mississippi and the supporters of Calhoun were "few and far between."[22]

Poindexter had been an admirer and able supporter of Jackson, and in 1819 had made a famous speech in the house of representatives in defense of Jackson's course in the Seminole War.[23] In 1830 he was elected to the senate by the legislature of Mississippi as a follower of Jackson, but he soon drifted from the support of the administration[24] and became a supporter of Calhoun.[25] The position of Poindexter and the remarkable influ-

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[21]Quitman to J. F. H. Claiborne, Rhinebeck, N. Y., July 31, 1831, in Claiborne's *Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman,* I, 108.

[22]Ibid, I, 111.

[23]This speech is given in full in James D. Lynch's *The Bench and Bar of Mississippi,* 34-72.

[24]Claiborne attributes Poindexter's change towards Jackson either to a disappointment over his not receiving a place in the cabinet or to resentment due to his not receiving the civilities usually tendered a senator. See Claiborne's *History of Mississippi,* I, 375-6.

[25]John A. Quitman to J. F. H. Claiborne, Claiborne's *Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman,* I, 107.

ence of Jackson in Mississippi are clearly brought out in the correspondence between J. F. H. Claiborne and Poindexter. Claiborne, in a letter dated March 7, 1832, tells Poindexter plainly, that if he has endeavored to impede the course of the administration and has denounced General Jackson as an officer entirely incompetent and declared himself a "Nullifier" in such a sense of the word, as would "justly a dissolution of the Union to get rid of an unpopular law," then he, Claiborne, can no longer adhere to his political fortunes in spite of all former ties of friendship and admiration. He also warns Poindexter "that the people of Mississippi, in spite of faction, in spite of all cabals that exist among them, *never* will doubt the patriotism of General Jackson. The man who opposes him risks much—and if it be, that you have deserted his administration—that you have lifted up your voice against him and in league with that party, which is against us in everything—then I shall live to see, what *you know* I will regret from the bottom of my heart—the sudden prostration of all your popularity.[26]

Poindexter, although indignant that one so young and inexperienced as Claiborne should presume to question his course in political affairs, replied in a letter that set forth fearlessly his relation to the administration, his opinion on the right of nullification and the relation of the States to the Federal government, and his attitude towards Van Buren, Calhoun and Clay. He asserts that he has uniformly given his vote to measures recommended to congress by the president if they did not, in his honest opinion, conflict with the constitution or the interests of the American people; that he does not think that the chief executive, like the king, is infallible, and does not agree with the president on the constitutionality of a protective tariff and his scheme of distributing the surplus revenues, and thinks many of the president's recommendations, if carried into effect, would be ruinous to the agricultural States. However, he does not com-

[26]J. F. H. Claiborne to George Poindexter, Washington, Miss., March 7, 1832, Manuscript in the Claiborne Papers, State Archives, Jackson, Mississippi. This letter differs from that of March 8, 1832, given in Claiborne's *History of Mississippi*, I, 397-8, but is evidently the original of that letter.

plain of the president for his opinions; for no doubt they are honestly entertained, and so are his. He had advocated the election of Jackson in opposition to Adams, and therefore he was, in a measure, identified in the success of his administration, and would never oppose him from factious considerations. As for his being in league with the party of opposition, Clay would as soon calculate on Jackson's support as his.

"You wish to know," he continues, "whether I have declared myself a 'nullifier.'" "To dissolve the Union," he declares, "'to get rid of an unpopular law' would involve a political depravity too monstrous to be tolerated," and the suggestion from one so young and inexperienced as Claiborne that he is "liable to such an imputation" excites feelings that it would be better for him not to express.

As to his views on the Federal government, Poindexter asserts that he considers "this government in its character federative, and the rights of the States who are parties to it, as extending to every power, not conceded to the Federal head by the constitution. A usurpation by congress of powers not granted in the compact of Union without limitation or check, would amount to consolidation and practical despotism." For a further exposition of his views of the structure of the government, he refers Claiborne to the political creed of Thomas Jefferson and the able report of Mr. Madison in the Virginia legislature of 1799.

He finally tells Claiborne:

> "If you believe that powers usurped by Congress to favor one portion of the Union and depress another can receive no check by the interposition of the sovereign power of the States, whose rights are invaded, and that such usurpation may be enforced at the point of the bayonet, your republicanism and mine do not belong to the same school and the sooner we are both undeceived on the subject, the better. I go for the constitution as it is written on the strict observance of which, the very existence and vital interests of the Southern States depend, and if you enlist on the side of the supremacy of Federal power in all cases, and the infallibility of the chief magistrate, whose will connot be resisted with impunity, I shall not either expect, or desire, your support."

He declares, in unmeasured terms, his opposition to that "corrupt, intriguing, and gambling political" Martin Van Buren, and his determination not to sacrifice every principle of honor to the blind devotion of a feeble and dependent old man whose

popularity has been staked to elevate to the presidency a court favorite who is the deadly enemy of the whole country south of the Potomac.

As for Calhoun, Poindexter declares:

"Mr. Calhoun is not and will not be before the people for any office at the expiration of his present term. He is the only man now in the political theatre, who ever had pretension to the presidency, who is the friend of Southern interest, and when he retires we shall find it difficult to replace him. He is powerless, therefore, any opinion in his favor ought at least to be considered disinterested."[27]

In Mississippi the question of nullification was sufficiently important in the summer of 1832 to enter into other questions of the day. Quitman announced himself as a candidate to represent Adams County in the convention called to frame a new State constitution. His opposition to the election of judges by popular vote and his general conservatism made him acceptable to his constituents; but his well known support of Calhoun and his views on State and Federal relations aroused opposition to his candidacy. A meeting was called of the citizens of Adams County adverse to the election of judges by the people and opposed to nullification, either to produce a reconciliation of all those opposed to the election of judges by the people, or to bring out another candidate in place of Quitman.

It was asserted in the call:

"It is believed by a large body of those of Judge Quitman's friends who sustained his nomination and who intended by their votes to have contributed to his election, that he is a *Nullifier in principle!* That his opinions, frequently of late expressed upon the subject of Nullification, are the same as Mr. Calhoun's and Mr. Hayne's; the one its author, the other its first public propagator. Judge Quitman's friends in this country believe that nullification is unsound in theory, and contrary to the constitution; that its tendency is anarchy, and that the effect of its practical application to any given case *is disunion!* They look to the indications in South Carolina, and despair of its permanency, while she asserts her right and intention to nullify a law of the United States. They look to the threat of her governor that before the year is out, her citizens will be in arms; to the declarations of a portion of her delegation in congress, who wish to go home and prepare for war. They are also well aware of the disposition of the leaders of the party to form a great Southern league to crusade against the Union. Under these circumstances, and at such a

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[27]George Poindexter to J. F. H. Claiborne, Washington City, March 26, 1832, Claiborne Papers, State Archives, Jackson, Miss.

crisis, a large portion of Judge Quitman's friends can not sustain him, without sustaining nullification, and putting at issue in this state the question of union or disunion."[28]

Judge Quitman appeared at the meeting on the 15th of July, as he had been invited to do in the call for it, and stated his views on the respective rights of the general and the State governments, with the result that a resolution was adopted setting forth the opposition of the meeting to nullification and declaring that its propagation would endanger their dearest and best interests, but that the views of Quitman as set forth in the meeting by himself did not "amount to nullification, according to the usual acceptation of the term," and that he should be supported for the convention.[29] It is hardly probable, from the character of the man, that Quitman modified his views in his address before this meeting; but it is probable that his views with reference to the State constitution were such and his popularity in the community so great that his nomination was confirmed in spite of his views on nullification.

In the meantime, national events were moving forward. July 14, 1832, a new tariff emerged, which was in many respects an improvement on that of 1828, but which embodied no important modification of the protective principle. The vote in the South was equally divided, the measure receiving strong support from Virginia and North Carolina and encountering equally strong opposition from South Carolina and Georgia.[30] The one representative from Mississippi voted for the passage of the bill,[31] but both the senators voted against it.[32] Poindexter had protested against it as leaving all the offensive features of the tariff untouched, and urged that congress "in a mutual spirit of compromise and concession do justice to all and restore tranquility to this distracted country.[33] He refused to vote for the

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[28]Hand bill calling a public meeting in Natchez, July 10, 1832, Claiborne's *Quitman* I, 112-3.
[29]Proceedings of the public meeting held in Natchez, July 19, 1832, Claiborne's *Quitman* I, 114-115..
[30]Dewey's *Financial History of the United States,* p 85.
[31]*Congressional Debates,* VIII, pt. III. 1831-32, 3830, June 28, 1832.
[32]*Congressional Debates,* VIII, pt. I, 1831-32, 1219, June 9, 1832.
[33]Ibid, 619, March 22, 1832.

bill because he thought by doing so he would concede the right of congress to lay taxes for other purposes than revenues, and because he considered the bill from the inequality of its operation worse than that of 1828.[34]

The spirit of nullification was keyed to a higher pitch by the passage of the new tariff act. The "magnanimity and justice of the good people of the Union" had not effected the abandonment of the odious protective system, and South Carolina prepared to act. November 24th, a convention of that State passed an act declaring that the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 "are null, void and no law nor binding upon this State, its officers, or citizens," and that no collection of the duties enjoined by that law should be permitted in the State of South Carolina after February 1, 1833.[35]

But Andrew Jackson was not disposed to sit quietly by while South Carolina, under the leadership of his dearest foe, annulled an act of congress. December 9th, he wrote Joel Poinsett, a leader of the Union party in South Carolina, that in forty days "from the date of my orders," if force shall have become necessary, "I will have forty thousand men in the State of South Carolina" to put down resistance and enforce the law.[36] On the following day, December 10, 1832, he issued his "Nullification Proclamation," in which he denied the doctrine of State sovereignty and the theory of the Federal government enunciated by South Carolina and the consequent rights of nullifications and secession; and appealed to the people of South Carolina to beware of the danger into which they were running, and to the people of the United States for their undivided support in preserving the integrity of the Union.[37]

South Carolina did not weaken. The legislature replied to Jackson's proclamation in a series of resolutions condemning the course of the president, asserting the right of a State to secede peaceably from the Union, and expressing the determina-

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[34]Ibid, 1290, July 12, 1832.
[35]Ames' *State Documents,* IV, 38-41.
[36]MacDonald's *Jacksonian Democracy,* p. 161.
[37]Richardson's *Message and Papers of the Presidents,* II, 640-656.

tion to repel force with force.[38] Governor Hayne put forth a counter proclamation,[39] and the legislature issued a call for a convention of the States "to determine and consider such questions of disputed power as have arisen between the States of the Confederacy and the General Government."[40]

January 16, 1833, in a special message, the president reviewed the course of South Carolina, pointed out that duties could not be collected in that State, and asked for additional legislation to enforce the revenue laws. On the twenty-first of January a bill to enforce the collection of the revenue, destined to become famous as the "force bill," was reported to the senate.

In the meantime, the attitude of the other States toward the course of South Carolina could not be reassuring to that State. Governor Scott, of Mississippi, was more sympathetic towards South Carolina than the legislature he addressed. January 8, 1833, in his message to the legislature, he asserts that a large majority of the people of the State think the tariff "contrary to the spirit of the constitution of the United States, impolitic, and oppressive in its operation upon the Southern States, and should be resisted by all constitutional means," and that there is little difference of opinion on this subject among the people of the South generally. "Yet, strange as it may appear," he continues, "the general government has persisted in this most unjust and oppressive system until one of the States, affording the purest patriots and most talented statesmen, has been induced to believe that no relief was to be expected, and has entered upon a course which seems to threaten a dissolution of the Union." He hopes, however, "that Congress will at their present session so modify the obnoxious law as to restore harmony and good feeling once more, between the different sections of our beloved country."[41]

This part of the governor's message and the resolutions from

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[38]South Carolina's Reply to Jackson's Proclamation, Dec. 20, 1832, Ames' *Select Documents*, IV, 41-44.

[39]December 20, 1832, *Niles Register*, XVIII, 308-12.

[40]Call for a Convention of the States by South Carolina, Dec. 18, 1832, Ames, *Select Documents*, IV, 44.

[41]Administration of Governor Abram M. Scott, Correspondence and other Papers, January to August, 1833, State Archives, Jackson, Mississippi.

the States of Maine, New Hampshire and Pennsylvania on the same subject, were referred to a select committee of the house of representatives of which Adam L. Bingaman, an influential Whig, of Natchez, was chairman.[42] This committee, in its report, declared their belief that the sentiments of the majority of the people of the States towards a protective tariff were still in accord with those expressed by the general assembly in 1829. But the committee expressed themselves as opposed to nullification and as regarding it as a heresy fatal to the existence of the Union, and expressed the opinion that the State of South Carolina had acted with a reckless precipitancy. The committee deplored the alarming crisis in national affairs and regretted it the more as proceeding from the unwarrantable attitude assumed by a sister of the South whose best interests were identical with those of their own State. In the spirit of members of the same family, they invoked the people of South Carolina to pause and hearken attentively "to the paternal, yet ominous warning of the Executive of the Union" and conjured them to await patiently the gradual progress of public opinion, and to rely, with patriotic confidence, on the ultimate decision of congress.

The committee also proclaimed that Mississippi owed a duty to the Union above all minor considerations and that she prized the Union less than liberty alone; and asserted that they were heartily in accord with the general political sentiments of the president of the United States as expressed in his recent proclamation, and that they stood firmly resolved, "at whatever sacrifice of feeling, in all events, and at every hazard to sustain him in enforcing the paramount laws of the land and preserving the integrity of the Union—that Union, whose value we will never stop to calculate—holding it, as our fathers held it, precious above all price."

The committee reported for adoption three resolutions. The first condemned secession by declaring "that, in the language of the father of his country, we will 'indignantly frown upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our

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[42] *Mississippi Free Trader,* Natchez, Mississippi, Oct. 29, 1836.

country from the rest, or to enfeeble the ties which link together its various parts.'" The doctrine of nullification was condemned in the second resolution as "contrary to the letter and spirit of the Constitution, and in direct conflict with the welfare, safety and independence of every State in the Union." "To no one of them," it was added, "would its consequences be more deeply disastrous, more ruinous, than to the State of Mississippi." In the last resolution, the legislature declared that, "We will, with heart and hand, sustain the president of the United States in the full exercise of his legitimate powers, to restore peace and harmony to our distracted country, and to maintain, unsullied and unimpaired, the honor, the independence and integrity of the Union."[43] These resolutions passed the house by a vote of 30 to 3 and were in due time passed by the senate and transmitted to the other States.

The replies of the other co-States to the call of South Carolina for a convention were as little reasuring as that of Mississippi. All condemned the course of South Carolina, and a large majority also expressed their approval of the proclamation of the president.[44] But Georgia[45] and Alabama joined with South Carolina in recommending a general convention of all the States.

The legislature of Mississippi refused to concur in the resolutions of Georgia calling a convention of the States to amend the constitution. The committee of the house to which the resolutions of Georgia had been referred gave, in its report, as a reason for this refusal that such a convention would be productive of results wholly foreign to the wishes of those who were most anxious for the call. For a convention, assembled at that time, they had every reason to believe, would affirm those very powers which were so obnoxious to a majority of the citizens of the

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[43]*Laws of the State of Mississippi*, 1833, 246-248; Ames' *Select Documents*, IV, 51-53; *Mississippi Free Trades*, Oct. 29, 1836.

[44]These replies may be found in *State Papers on Nullification* (Boston, 1834).

[45]Ibid, 238-239. These resolutions, although transmitted to the other States by the governor of Georgia, were rejected by the legislature and others adopted calling a convention of six of the Southern States. Ibid, 269-274.

Southern section of the Union, since the constitutionality of a tariff of protection had been affirmed by eighteen of the twenty-four States, the larger States all being in favor of the affirmation. In addition, the committee pointed out that the passion and excitement that would be engendered by the struggle in the convention would endanger the peace of the country.[46]

In the meantime, the forces of compromise were at work to avert the threatened clash between the Federal government and South Carolina. The president, in his message December 4, 1832, urged the revision of the tariff. In addition, the general assembly of Virginia, in its reply to South Carolina, earnestly and affectionately requested and entreated that State to rescind its nullification ordinance or at least, to suspend its operation and await the result of a combined and strenuous effort of the friends of union and peace, to effect an adjustment and reconciliation of all public difference then unhappily existing, and sent a commissioner to South Carolina to assure that State of the good faith of Virginia and to offer its friendly mediation.[47] In response to these "indications of beneficial modification of the tariff," a public meeting, in Charleston, January 21st, suspended the ordinance of nullification;[48] and the president of the convention issued a proclamation, on February 13th, calling the convention together again on March 11th, seven days after the adjournment of congress.[49]

At the beginning of 1833, the "force bill" and the reduction of the tariff were both before congress. Calhoun, who had returned to the senate, led the struggle against the former and in favor of the latter. The Mississippi delegates in both houses, opposing the all-powerful Jackson, lent their support to the South Carolina statesman. Poindexter, as early as December 17, 1832, introduced a resolution concerning the reduction of the

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[46]*House Journal of the Mississippi Legislature,* Feb. 25, 1833.; *State Papers on Nullification,* 277-80.

[47]Resolves of Virginia, Jan. 26, 1833. Ames' *State Documents,* IV, 53-56.

[48]Houston's *A Study of Nullification in South Carolina,* 122.

[49]Ibid, 130.

tariff.[50] On February 12th he expressed his approval of Clay's compromise tariff bill and severely arraigned those senators who decried the tariff as ruinous and oppressive and who yet voted for fleets and armies to carry it into effect and opposed conciliation, when it was proposed, as something which ought to be averted. He characterized the tariff as "accursed" and declared that the bill reported by the judiciary committee "ought to have been kicked out" of the senate as soon as it was introduced and expressed surprise that the "measure which looks to the peace and tranquility of the country, did not meet with as much favor" as that which "would bring out the whole of the country to carry the tariff laws into effect."[51]

Though John Black, the other senator from Mississippi, disapproved of Calhoun's position on nullification,[52] he was in accord with him on the modification of the tariff and opposition to the "force bill."[53] He and Poindexter both voted for the passage of the tariff bill of 1833[54] and refused to vote on the question of the passage of the "force bill."[55] Plummer, the representative of Mississippi in the house, voted for the former.[56] and against the latter.[57]

The tariff was passed in both houses of Congress, February 26, 1833, and the "force bill," March 1, 1833. Thus Congress offered South Carolina the olive branch with one hand and the rod with the other. South Carolina accepted the olive branch and defied the rod. The convention reassembled at the appointed

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[50]*Congressional Debates,* Vol. IV, pt. 1, 22 Congress, 2 section, 1832-33, 7, Dec. 17, 1832.

[51]*Congressional Debates,* IX, pt. 1, 22 Congress, 2 session, 1832-3, Feb. 12, 1833, 474.

[52]Letter from John Black to John A. Quitman, Jan. 23, 1833. Claiborne Correspondence, State Archives, Jackson, Mississippi.

[53]Letter of John Black to John A. Quitman, March 2, 1833. Claiborne Correspondence, State Archives, Jackson, Mississippi.

[54]*Congressional Debates,* IX, pt. 1, 22 Congress, 2 session, 1832-3, 809, March 2, 1833.

[55]Ibid, 688. February 20, 1833.

[56]Ibid, pt. 2, 1810, February 26, 1833.

[57]Plummer voted "nay" on the question of engrossing and reading a third time the "force bill," March 1, 1833 (Ibid, 1897). The vote for its passage is not given by names; but as the vote against the bill is larger in the latter case than in the former, it is reasonable to infer that Plummer voted against it. (Ibid, 1898.)

time and March 15th, by a vote of 153 to 4, rescinded the ordinance of November 24, 1832, and acts of the legislature passed in pursuance thereof. But, far from giving up the doctrines it had announced in the struggle, on March 18th, by a vote of 132 to 19, the convention passed an ordinance nullifying the "force bill" itself, and called upon the legislature to pass laws to prevent its enforcement within the State. The convention then adjourned and the crisis over nullification was over.[58]

In Mississippi, the question of Poindexter's open and pronounced hostility to the administration on the "force bill' was taken up in the legislature. Tilghman Tucker, of Lowndes County, introduced resolutions in the house declaring that, in the eminently difficult and perilous state of national affairs, the measures proposed by the bill recently reported by the judiciary committee of the senate were necessary to the preservation of the Union and eminently fitted to restore amity between the different sections and prevent civil strife. Poindexter's opposition to it was characterized as "injudicious, illiberal, and violent"; and it was resolved that his speech, so far as it gave sanction to "the absurd doctrines of nullification and secession" was deemed "worthy of the strongest reprobation as being notoriously repugnant to the feeling and opinion of the people of this State.[59] The legislature, however, was not ready to go to this length in approving the "force bill" and condemning its senator, and so the resolutions were postponed by a vote of three to two to the 3d of the following November. On March 2d, the Senate, also, refused to pass a resolution censuring the conduct of Poindexter.[60]

Governor Lynch, in his message to the legislature in November, 1833, condemned the course of nullification in South Carolina and rejoiced at its outcome. He wrote:

"The prompt action of the chief magistrate and the expression of an overwhelming majority of the American people, have met and denounced

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[58]Journal of the Second Session of the Convention of the People of South Carolina, *State Papers on Nullification*, pp. 321-75.
[59]*House Journal of the Legislature of Mississippi*, Feb. 25, 1833, 323-30.
[60]*Senate Journal of the Legislature of Mississippi*, March 2, 1833.

the doctrine of nullification in a voice so decided as to blast the hopes of the enemy of free governments; and affords to us and to the world the highest evidence of the intelligence, virtue, and fidelity of the people, with the cheering assurance that our Union and liberty shall live forever."[61]

But not all of those who were high in authority in the State thought as the governor did. In Jackson, June 11, 1834, during the session of the chancery court and the high court of errors and appeals, a meeting of the friends of the "State rights and State remedies" was held in the senate chamber. Those present were judges and members of the bar and a few citizens brought together "on the spur of the occasion without notice or previous concert." The object of the meeting was the "adopting of some principle of general concert in the action of the State Rights party" of the State.[62]

The meeting was organized on motion of Chancellor Quitman by calling Chief Justice Sharkey to the chair. A resolution was introduced by Quitman and unanimously adopted:

"That in the opinion of the meeting it is expedient to organize the friends of State rights in the State of Mississippi for the purpose of defending the rights of the States, and maintaining the Federal constitution."

Resolutions were next unanimously adopted calling a general convention of the State Rights party to be held at Jackson on the third Monday of May, and recommending the citizens of each county in the State who were opposed to the principles of the proclamation and the "force bill" to hold meetings in their respective counties for the purpose of appointing one or more delegates to the convention. A committee, of which John A. Quitman was chairman, was selected to prepare and send to the friends of State Rights in the several counties an address requesting their co-operation in the objects of the meeting and enjoining upon them the importance of sending delegates to the convention. The

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[61]Rowland's *Encyclopedia of Mississippi History*, II, 151.

[62]Letter from Isaac Caldwell to Hon. George Poindexter, Jan. 29, 1834, Claiborne Correspondence, State Archives, Jackson, Miss.

meeting then adjourned until January 20th, on which date the address drawn up by the committee was to be reported.[63]

The adjourned meeting was called to order by Chief Justice Sharkey at the appointed time, and the report of the committee on address, made by Judge Winchester, was unanimously received. This address is interesting as an early statement of the creed of the State Rights party in Mississippi. In it, the object of the party is explained, the doctrine of State sovereignty enunciated, and all opposed to the proclamation and the "force bill" invited to unite to arrest the progress of the dangerous principles and still more dangerous acts of the administration.

The object of the State Rights party, according to the address, was to draw the attention of the people to the preservation of the State governments. The principles of the proclamation and the "force bill" were declared to be an open and direct attack upon the separate existence and independence of the States; and it was asserted that, if these principles should prevail and the State governments be destroyed, the annihilation of the union of the States, the Federal constitution, and the United States government would necessarily follow, and an unlimited consolidated despotism would be established on their ruin.

The doctrine of State sovereignty was set forth in contrasting what the committee on address believed to be the true democratic republican principles of government with the principles of the proclamation and the "force bill." The history of the States from the Revolution through the adoption of the constitution was first traced to prove that each State acted as an independent unit in the forming of the Union. By the Revolution and the Declaration of Independence, it was declared, each of the thirteen colonies for itself threw off the British government and assumed all the powers of government within its own

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[63] *Vicksburg Register*, Jan. 22, 1834. The proceedings of this meeting were signed by those present. Among the twenty-two names are those of W. L. Sharkey, Chief Justice of the High Court of Errors and Appeals, C. P. Smith, Judge of the same court; John A. Quitman, Chancellor; George Winchester, former Judge of the Supreme Court and candidate for governor in 1829 on the Whig ticket, and Isaac Caldwell, former Judge of the Supreme Court and law partner of Poindexter.

limits, and by the Declaration of Independence, the colonies united together as free and independent States and pledged themselves, in the face of the world, mutually to sustain each other in that character. Thus the States confederated for mutual defense and protection, but they did not thereby constitute the citizens of all the colonies an union of one people. Afterwards the States, each for itself, ratified and adopted the constitution of the United States, thereby creating a more perfect union of the States; and, since their ratification and adoption of the constitution, each of the United States has had within its limits two governments, a United States government and a State government.

The questions of sovereignty over these governments and the nature of the constitution adopted by these independent units, were not left in doubt. The people of each State, it was declared, is the true and only source of all power delegated to either government and is the sovereign or supreme power over both governments within its limits. However, it is asserted that the constitution that created the United States government, being a compact to which all the States are parties, the people of the State cannot alter or annul it as it can its own State constitution without a violation of the compact. But in contradiction to Jackson's proclamation, it is declared that such a violation of the compact by a sovereign State is not revolution, because revolution is the act of subjects overthrowing their sovereign, and one State is not the subject of the other States, and much less is it the subject of the United States government; and that the officers and people of a State, in obeying the ordinances and laws of a State made to defend its reserved rights against encroachments by national usurpation, are not guilty of treason and rebellion to the United States government because treason and rebellion are unsuccessful revolution.

The doctrine of State sovereignty having been asserted, the consequent right of nullification was very naturally unheld and the right of the general government to coerce a State denied. The right to judge finally of the extent of the powers delegated to the United States and the extent of those reserved to the

States or to the people, was declared to be a sovereign right reserved to the people of the States, since it was no where in the constitution delegated to the United States government or prohibited to the States. Furthermore, it was asserted that, while the constitution and laws and treaties made pursuant thereto are the supreme law of the land, the laws and treaties made by the general government that are not pursuant to the constitution are not the supreme law of the land, nor are they binding as such upon the people of a State, or upon either of its governments. Consequently to declare such acts null and void and to arrest their operation within the limits of a State by ordinances and laws, is neither revolution on the part of State conventions and governments, nor treason or rebellion on the part of the officers or the citizens of a State. Ours being a civil, and not a military government, it was declared, all disputes between the United States government and the State government are to be reconciled by the civil authorities. The land and naval forces, and the treasury officers were not entrusted to the national government for the purpose of overthrowing State governments, or punishing the officers and citizens of a State for their obedience to State ordinances and State laws and the civil tribunals of a State.

In conclusion, it was stated that, while candor and sincerity had rendered proper the expression of what was deemed to be the true democratic-republican principles of one constitution, yet the meeting did not invite an association for the purpose of establishing these principles as a political creed. It was recognized that there were many citizens who might not concur in all the sentiments expressed in the address, but yet who would cordially unite in opposition to the principle of the proclamation and the "force bill." Therefore the address was closed with an invitation to "all citizens in the State who are opposed to the Proclamation and the Force Bill to united in the county meetings and send delegates to the proposed convention, to organize an association, not for the purpose of inculcating the principles

of this meeting, but to arrest the progress of dangerous principles and still more dangerous acts."[64]

The State Rights convention met as appointed, May 19, 1834, with between fifty and fifty-five delegates present from the western and middle western counties of the State.[65] Quitman was the dominating personality of the convention as he had been of the whole State Rights movement. On his motion, a resolution was unanimously adopted declaring that:

"The report of a select committee on the resolutions of Maine, New Hampshire, and Pennsylvania, and the second and third resolutions thereto appended, and adopted by a majority of the legislature of this State, at the session in January, 1833, in denouncing and insulting a gallant and a persecuted sister State—a State which has been foremost in expending her blood and treasure in the cause of freedom; in their approval of the bold and daring attempt of the Executive, the agent of one department of the Federal Government, to overawe a sovereign state; in their pledge to sustain 'with heart and hand' his threat to enforce with the bayonet a law which a majority of the people of Mississippi considered, and which their Legislature had pronounced 'Contrary to the spirit of the Constitution of the United States, impolitic,, and oppresive in its operation in the Southern States,' did not in the opinion of this Conventon, convey the true sentiments and feelings of the generous and brave people of this our beloved States; that on the contrary, had the President dared to lead on his mercenaries to invade that gallant State, and to butcher its citizens before their own alters, before their wives and their children, the cry from the Leaf to the Mississippi, from Yazoo to the Homochitto, would have been 'to the rescue! to the rescue!'"[66]

Another resolution was also passed commending the "bold and manly stand" of John I. Guion, senator from Warren, and Richardson, Pemble, McRae, and Vick, representatives of Wilkinson, Amite, Green, and Warren, respectively, in opposition to this report and these resolutions.[67]

On the second day of its session, the convention adopted a constitution for the State Rights Association of Mississippi. The first article of this declares that:

"The object of this association shall be to maintain and preserve the

[64] *Vicksburg Register,* February 5, 1834. The address is dated January 20, 1834, and signed by the members of the committee: John A. Quitman, George Winchester, P. W. Webber, Samuel B. Marsh, and C. P. Smith.

[65] *Vicksburg Register,* June 12, 1834, contains a list of delegates and the counties represented.

[66] *Vicksburg Register,* June 12, 1834; *Mississippi Free Trader,* Oct. 29, 1836.

[67] *Vicksburg Register,* June 12, 1834.

Constitution of the United States in its purity, and by every legal and proper means to support and defend the separate sovereignty of the States."

Other articles provide for the organization of county associations and a central association to meet, semi-annually, in Jackson.[68]

In the *State Rights Banner,* the organ of the State Rights party in Jackson, it was asserted that the sentiment of the mass of the free people sustained the principles of the State Rights party; but that the moment they were told that such sentiments constituted nullification, many would deny it and insist that nullification was something else. The party had not made greater progress because its doctrines had been so abundantly misrepresented by some who knew better and by others who honestly did not understand them.[69]

The full significance of the State Rights movement in Mississippi and its connection with the practical politics of the moment is revealed by the toasts at a State Rights dinner in Jackson, during the convention. These toasts are given by the *Vicksburg Register* of June 5, 1834, as follows:

"By Thomas Armatt: *Nullification*—A word coined by our immortal Jefferson; may it remain pure and imperishable in the political dictionary of a liberty-loving democracy, may its principles be forever a shield for our country and our country's Constitution—a foe to despotism, and a fierce and inexorable ally of our Union.

"By John L. Perkins: *The Union of the States and the Rights of the States*—May the indignation and odium of the free people fall upon him who advocates the one and denies the other.

"By R. J. Fitz: *Our Federal Government*—A *constitutional* union of sovereign states, and not a *consolidated* union of the people.

"By T. Robertson: *John C. Calhoun*—The inspired apostle of State Rights and State Remedies—in the dark hour of federal usurpation, he stood forth as the eagle of the rock of Norway—daring with equal composure the storm that rent the atmosphere above, and the mountain billows that tossed and darkened and roared beneath.

"By Andrew Trumbull: The Hon. George Poindexter who through good and evil report stood forth, the able and fearless defender of the rights of the states and of the Constitution.

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[68] *Vicksburg Register,* June 5, 1834.
[69] Quoted from *State Rights Banner* in *Vicksburg Register,* June 5, 1834.

"By Thomas J. Coffee: George Poindexter, John Black, and Harry Cage—In their opposition to Executive usurpation, they have represented the interests of the people of Mississippi. They deserve the approbation of the friends of Liberty."

These toasts show that the movement was not simply for the upholding of certain principles with reference to sovereignty in that United States and the nature of the Federal government, but that it was also for the preservation of the political fortunes of those who had dared oppose Jackson. How much of its strength was due to the former motive and how much to the latter, it would be difficult to say.

When the report of the convention reached John Black, he was alarmed lest the course of the State Rights party might prevent a coalition between that party and the Whigs, in opposition to Jackson. He wrote to Quitman:

"What do you mean by your convention? It will not surely do to run candidates in each county on your own particular notion of state remedies. Why create a split among the great party who agree on the subject of State rights—as to their extent—their importance—and as to the necessity of preserving them inviolable but who may not all agree that a certain particular course can be constitutionally taken in vindication of them. I tell you there is a necessity of strict union of all those who are in favor of State rights and it will not do for you to insist that those rights shall be defended in your own peculiar notions or not at all. I consider the question of remedy a mere secondary question—merely incidental—we had better first see whether any rights at all are to be preserved before [we] go to disputing about the proper manner of defending them. The late assumptions of power—by the President leave in my judgment no rights either to the States or to Congress. If these opinions are acquiesced in substantially all belong to the executive. In your raising the subordinate question now you appear to me to act like those who would insist on defending the outwork of a fortress after it has been passed [and] carried and a violent assault [is] going on against the main fortress itself. * * * I think all minor differences of opinion should be laid aside, all subordinate distractions merged and a war of opposition should be urged against executive encroachments (for they are the only encroachments at present) on the broad Whig principle of opposition to assumed power. * * *"

He declares that he knows the members of the State Rights party well and gives them credit for talent and public spirit; but, at the same time, he knows that most of them are most imprudent men, whose zeal at best doubles their information and who, he fears, will permit no other issue to be made than nullification or no nullification. This he would, at the present aspect of affairs, lament as a most unhappy result.

In conclusion, Black definitely states his opinion on State rights and nullification. He writes:

"As to myself, you are aware that I do not assent to some of the opinions held by the party to which you are attached as to the length a state may go constitutionally in remedying what all may choose [to] consider an encroachment on its rights by the general government but as to the main question—what are those rights? We could not materially differ now as to the necessity of continual vigilance about them and I think you will believe me when I say that none would resist more fearlessly and uncompromisingly every attempt to assail them, let it come from what quarter it may."[70]

Disregarding the arguments of Senator Black, the committee appointed by the State Rights convention, of which Quitman was chairman, drew up an address in harmony with the address that had been accepted by the public meeting of the State Rights party on January 20, again asserting the doctrine of State sovereignty and the right of nullification, and condemning the principles of the proclamation and the "force bill." The same historical arguments are used to prove that the Federal constitution is not a social, but a Federal compact, to which each State is a party and its co-States the other party. It is asserted that the idea of a national existence antecedent to the adoption of the constitution was distinctly avowed by no one until 1830, when Webster assumed the fact in order to support the tariff system; that the doctrine was sustained next by John Quincy Adams in a speech delivered by him in Massachusetts in the same year; and that it was on the authority of these great names, no doubt, that President Jackson reiterated it in his proclamation in 1832.

The principles of Jackson are refuted by contrasting the proclamation and the force bill with the Virginia and the Kentucky resolutions. The proclamation, it is declared, denies that the several States are, or ever were, sovereign and independent. It labors to prove that there existed between them some essential political connection previous to the adoption of the constitution; that the constitution, instead of being a compact between

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[70]Letter of John Black to John A. Quitman, June 3, 1834, Claiborne Correspondence, State Archives, Jackson, Mississippi.

sovereign States, is a "social compact" or, in other words, a compact between individuals. It denies the sovereignty of the States and consequently the right of secession, and asserts the Federal doctrine that sovereignty resides alone in the United States. It assumes the principle, which has since been carried out to an arbitrary extent, that the executive is the representative of the whole people of the United States. It declares, as the necessary result of these principles, that the government of the United States is supreme in its several departments. The only conclusion to be drawn from these principles, according to the address, is that the States possess their power and hold their rights at the mercy of the Federal government.

But more alarming to the State Rights party than the assertion of these views by the president was the fact that the "force bill" purported to carry these pretenses into practical operation. By its provisions, it was asserted, the Federal government may treat a sovereign State as a subject, menace her with the sword and bayonet for presuming to exercise her reserved rights, and annihilate her judical power by declaring the sentence of her courts null and void.

These principles are declared to be utterly at variance with the principles of Jefferson and the Democratic party as set forth in the resolutions of '98 and '99. The position taken in those resolutions is, as stated in the address, that the constitution is a compact; that the parties to this compact are States, not individuals; that the Federal government possesses no powers but what are enunciated in the grant; and that, in the case of deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of other powers not granted, the States have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose.

The contention of the proclamation that the general government is the exclusive judge of the extent of the power delegated to it, is refuted by the declaration that Jefferson, in his draft of the Kentucky Resolutions, declares that this doctrine *"was nothing short of despotism, since the construction by those who administer the government, and not the constitution, would be the measure of their power."*

The creed of the States Rights party of Mississippi is de-

clared to be the same as that of the Republican party of Jefferson's day, and is set forth at length:

"They believe that the framers of the Constitution, acting upon the maxim that 'force is the resort of tyrants, not of free governments,' took care to form a government, which should not have power to coerce by force, the sovereign parties from whom alone it was to derive its vitality. They believe that the States in their sovereign character, adopted the constitution; that their obligation to one another constituted a compact in the nature of a league between sovereign powers, to the terms of which each is bound by the strongest obligations of morality, and, we may add, of interest; that by this compact, they delegated the exercise of certain important powers to a common agent, for their joint benefit: but expressly reserved the mass of unenumerated powers to be exercised by themselves in such manner, as their own free will should declare, over the powers and rights thus reserved, they retained their absolute and unqualified sovereignty; over those powers not delegated, the Federal government has no more authority than any foreign government, either to restrict them or to dictate the mode of their exercises; that the States, each one for itself, are the judges of their reserved powers, and in case of an invasion of these rights, from any and every quarter, have the undoubted right to judge of the mode and manner of opposing such invasion, and the power of preserving these rights unimpaired, by the free use of all the organs of State governments for the simple reason that they possess sovereign power over the subject matter not delegated as full and complete as if they had never entered the Union."

The address further declares that:

"We acknowledge no sovereignty but that of the people of the several States. The Constitution owes its authority in each State to no other cause, than the assent of each sovereign. Those who administer the Federal government, as well as those who exercise the power of State governments, are mere agents, clothed with trust power. When they dispute as to the extent of their several powers, both have equal authority to use all lawful means to enforce their construction; but neither is authorized to resort to open force to compel obedience on the part of the other. When the contest assumes sufficient importance, the sovereignty itself must interpose and define the powers delegated to each. Without such interposition, the more powerful agent would soon absorb all the powers of the weaker and the latter fall a prey to the former."

The means and measures with which a State may interpose are clearly stated and defended. The address continues:

"Can argument be necessary to prove that a right appertaining to a State is a *political right;* and is to be protected and exercised by the use of her political organs, the legislative, the judicial, and the executive departments of her system? Those who admit that the States have rights, but leave them to be measured out or withheld by the opposing power, and admit no remedy but revolution, surely do not reflect that revolution is the act of individuals resisting the law, not of States enforcing

it for the protection of their political rights. It is a confusion of terms to apply the express of 'State Rights' to absolute or moral rights of individuals. The rights or powers of a State, mean its *political powers*—such as can be exercised through her political machinery, and for the preservation of which she must in all cases have an adequate remedy. Those others who deny the *remedy*, speak absurdities when they admit the *right*. It seems to us strange that these plain principles should be objected to. This may arise, and we believe in part, does arise, from fear, sincere in some, but pretended in others, that the right of State interposition may be abused. * * * It seems to us that the check of State interposition, if universally admitted, would never be resorted to, except where powers of at least a doubtful character and extremely oppressive should be used—of this there is an ample guarantee in the attachment of the States and of their citizens to the union which they formed, in the difficulty of arousing men to action upon slight cause, and more than all, in the slow, difficult, and deliberate proceedings by which alone State interposition can be effected: for it must be recollected that its practical exercise requires that a majority of the people of a State should solemnly declare, both in their legislature and afterwards in a convention assembled for that purpose, that the act complained of, is *unconstitutional* and *oppressive.*"

Prescient of the future, the address closes with a warming against the establishing of the principle of the absolute supremacy of the general government, not because it would irrevocably fasten on the South the unconstitutional and unjust commercial system in opposition to which the State Rights movement under the leadership of South Carolina had developed; but because, if such principles were established, "How long will it be before the South will be compelled to yield up her peculiar domestic institutions so obnoxious to the other portion" of the Union, "or incur the deep hazard of resistance to law?"[71]

The majority of people in Mississippi, however, did not apprehend the fatal seriousness of the opening sectional struggle over slavery and the importance State Rights would assume to the weaker side in the contest, and rallied to the support of the national government under Jackson. The resolutions passed June 9, 1834, by the convention of the Democratic party of Mississippi forms a striking contrast to principles set forth by later conventions of the same party. These resolutions unequivo-

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[71]Address to the people of Mississippi by the committee appointed by the State Rights Convention, assembled at Jackson, May 21, 1834. Signed by John A. Quitman, Samuel B. Marsh, Thomas Harneg, Peter Quin, W. S. Griffin, W. D. Harvey, and H. Briscoe, and dated July 4, 1834. *Vicksburg Register,* July 31, 1834.

cally denied the right of nullification and secession by declaring that:

"The doctrines of nullification, as declared in South Carolina, and industriously attempted to be propagated in this and other States, are repugnant to the vital principles of our political system, equally absurd in theory and dangerous in practice; the extension, adoption and enforcement of which must inevitably terminate in anarchy or civil war; * * * that the *constitutional* right of secession from the Union, on the part of a single State, as asserted by the nullifying leaders in South Carolina, is utterly unsanctioned by the federal constitution, which was framed to 'establish,' and not to destroy the Union of the States; and that no *secession* can in fact take place without a subversion of the Union established, and which will not virtually amount in the effects and consequences, to a civil revolution."

But the resolutions were not so definite on the question of sovereignty. "The people of the United States," they declared, "are the sole depositories of the sovereign authority of the Republic" and "all government, whether State or Federal, is a mere emanation therefrom."

But the Democratic party in Mississippi did not sanction the assumption of undelegated power by the Federal government. It held in these resolutions that it was the duty of the Federal government to refrain from the exercise of authority, the right to exercise which could be reasonably questioned; that the constitution should be at all times strictly construed, so as to limit the action of the general government to the powers expressly given, together with such as may be indispensably necessary to carry these express powers into effect; and that it was the duty of the legislatures of the States, respectively, to interpose in all proper and constitutional modes to arrest the progress of any measure of encroachment on the part of the Federal government upon the rights of the States or the people. However, the mode of "interposition" proposed was not that proposed by the State Rights party, but the mode that, according to these resolutions, procured the repeal of the Alien and Sedition Acts, *i. e.*, "by securing the co-operation of the sister States, the concentrating of so powerful a moral influence against such unjust and unauthorized enactments as shall, at any time, be adopted as may secure their annulment by the national Legislature."

The convention, in succeeding resolutions, proclaimed its con-

fidence in Jackson and its sanction of his administration; declared that Poindexter and Black, in supporting the resolution in the senate against Jackson, and in co-operation with the faction in opposition to him, misrepresented a large majority of the people of the State, and called upon them to resign; and expressed the dissatisfaction of his constituents with Harry Cage, and their approval of the course of Plummer with reference to the United States Bank.[72]

The fears of Senator Black and others that the assertion of extreme principles by the State Rights party would prevent a coalition of that party and the Whigs in opposition to the administration, were not realized. The Whig convention of the State, December 25, 1834, selected John A. Quitman, the extreme exponent of these principles, as a delegate to the National Whig convention;[73] and the Whig and the State Rights parties united in the State elections of 1835, the first real test of the strength of the opposition in the State to Jackson. The struggle was doubly interesting as it was thought that it would have a decisive influence on the presidential election in the State the next year. There were two tickets in the field, the Union Democratic and the White-Whig-State Rights ticket. The Democrats nominated Hiram G. Runnels for governor and the coalition, Charles Lynch; but the chief interest of the election was in the contest over the re-election of George Poindexter to the senate. Under the management of George Adams, United States district judge for Mississippi, and William M. Gwin, United States marshall, Robert J. Walker was selected by the Democratic party to oppose Poindexter; and he and Henry S. Foote ably defended the cause of Jackson on the stump. Poindexter, supported by the Whig orators, Adam L. Bingaman and the eloquent S. S. Prentiss, canvassed the State from end to end. The main issue, with the exception of the danger to the Federal system of Jackson's indifference to constitutional restraints, was the bank. The fact that Poindexter, Black, and Cage, all elected

[72]Journal of the Convention of the Democratic Party of the State of Mississippi, Jackson, June 9, 1834, *Vicksburg Register,* July 10, 1834.

[73]Proceedings of the Whig Convention, December 1, 1834, *Vicksburg Register,* December 25, 1834.

to Congress as supporters of Jackson, had come to regard his course as dangerous to the country, and that Plummer, from the eastern, or piney woods, section of the State, Jackson's special stronghold, went over[74] to the bank during this campaign had weight with many. The elections resulted, however, in the selection of an anti-Poindexter majority of members of the legislature. The Whigs got some crumbs of comfort in the election of Lynch as governor by a majority of 426, and of David Dickson as representative in Congress; but the "nullifiers" could take no comfort to themselves, for Lynch was known as an opponent of nullification[75] and Dickson had made no speeches and refused to "squabble about politics."[76]

Undismayed by the outcome of the State elections, the supporters of State rights kept up the agitation in favor of their doctrines,[77] and the Whig-State Rights coalition continued the presidential campaign already begun. It supported Hugh L. White, of Tennessee, for president and John Tyler, of Virginia, for vice-president; while the Democrats supported Van Buren and Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky. In the same elections, Quitman opposed Samuel J. Gholson for Congress, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Dickson.

In this campaign, the doctrine of nullification was used both against Quitman and the coalition presidential ticket. The *Mississippi Free Trader,* published in Natchez, Quitman's home, reprinted both the report and the resolutions introduced in the legislature by Bingaman in January, 1833, and the resolution adopted by the convention of the State Rights party, on motion of Quitman, May 19, 1834;[78] and appealed to the people of Adams County if they were "now willing to sustain a doctrine which your representatives pronounced 'fatal to the existence of

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[74]Claiborne's *History of Mississippi,* I, 411, 427.

[75]Rowland, *Encyclopedia of Mississippi History,* II, p. 152.

[76]Claiborne's *History of Mississippi,* I, 408-413.

[77]*Port Gibson Correspondent,* April 30, 1836. Account of a State Rights Meeting, April 9, 1836, copied from the *Liberty Advocate* by the *Port Gibson Correspondent* and fully approved by the latter paper.

[78]*Supra.*

the Union' and can you, will you sustain this doctrine and its advocates." It continued the appeal, as follows:

"In voting for the White-Harrison ticket, you vote for Tyler, an avowed nullifier for Vice-President, and according to your own avowal, strike at the *'existence* of the Union.' In voting for Quitman for Congress and Winchester for the State Senate, both, as the record proves, ultranullifiers, you strike another blow at 'the existence of the Union.' Are Judges Winchester and Quitman, and the Tyler electoral ticket dearer to you than the existence of the Union?—Your vote on the first Monday of November next will answer the question, and we cannot, we will not doubt the result, for upon it *mainly depends* whether Mississippi will be for or against the Union."[79]

A meeting in Natchez on November 5, called by the *Free Trader* a "Glorious Union Meeting," voiced the same sentiments in resolutions declaring "that Tyler, the candidate on the White-Harrison electoral ticket, is an avowed nullifier, and of course opposed to the existence of the Union"; and "that we are determined to adhere to the Union and to support it in war and in peace, against all its enemies, in war upon the field of battle beneath the glorious Star Spangled banner of America, and in peace by voting against all who would *nullify* the blessed Union."[80]

The State Rights party again seized upon the issue that was most vital to the South, and the papers supporting White insisted on contrasting the words of Van Buren to the effect that he would not, from the lights before him, feel himself safe in pronouncing that Congress did not possess the power of interfering with or abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, with the declaration of White that he did not believe that Congress had the power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and if that body did possess the power, he thought the exercise of it would be the very worst policy.[81] The *Vicksburg Register* declared there was a short question easily answered by any really Southern man.

"Martin Van Buren—*Congress has the constitutional power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia,* and of course in the Territories.

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[79] *Mississippi Free Trader,* Oct. 29, 1836.
[80] *Mississippi Free Trader,* Nov. 8, 1836.
[81] *Clinton Gazette,* August 27, 1836.

"Judge White—Congress has no such power.

"Question—Which of the two will the slave holders select for the Presidency?"[82]

When the election returns came in, it was found that Van Buren had received 9,889 votes and White, 9,666. Each county was divided between the candidates; but Van Buren's strength was in the east and White's in the west, while the middle counties were divided between them.[83]

In the congressional race, Gholson received 9,676 votes and Quitman, 8,897. Claiborne explains Quitman's defeat by saying that the Whig party and many Democrats regarded his late States Rights doctrines as disorganizing and destructive,[84] and that there were certain absurd sectional prejudices in his way.[85]

With this election, the agitation in Mississippi over State rights came to an end for a time. The members of the State Rights party did not continue to co-operate with the Whigs; but soon transferred their support to the Democratic party since the principles and policies of that party were more in line with theirs.[86]

The movement in Mississippi in support of State sovereignty and nullification, while insignificant in itself and owing much of its strength to hostility to Jackson, is, nevertheless, of interest and some importance in the light of the future history of the State. During its progress, the doctrine of State sovereignty and the consequent rights of nullification and secession were accepted by some within the State and made familiar to all, and a group of leaders was developed to which the State could turn

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[82]*Vicksburg Register,* May 12, 1836.

[83]*Tribune Almanac,* 1834-54, I, 8.

[84]Claiborne is confirmed in this statement in regard to the attitude of the Whigs towards Quitman by an editorial in the *Clinton Gazette,* January 2, 1836.

[85]Claiborne's *Quitman,* I, 161. In this last asertion, perhaps Claiborne refers to the fact that he, the other congressman, and Quitman, were both from the same part of the State. Up to 1835 both lived in Natchez. In that year Claiborne moved to Madison county. Gholson was from the northeastern part of the State.

[86]Letter from Quitman to T. Bole and S. Shackelford, Dec. 13, 1838, Claiborne's *Quitman,* I, 165.

when its interests inclined it toward these principles and policies. In this contest, Quitman came to realize, with Calhoun, the vital importance of State sovereignty to the Southern States in the defence of their peculiar domestic institution.[87] Later, when the question arose over slavery in the territory acquired from Mexico, and Mississippi saw the institution, which she had ceased to regard as an evil and with which her interests were irrevocably bound, threatened by a hostile majority in control of the Federal government, the State began to comprehend the underlying purpose of Calhoun in the assertion of the doctrine of State sovereignty, and turned to the leaders and principles it had rejected in the controversy over nullification. In 1849, a State Rights convention was assembled in Jackson, over which presided Chief Justice Sharkey,[88] the chairman of the first informal meetings in 1834 to organize a State Rights party in Mississippi; John A. Quitman, the dominant leader in the nullification movement, was elected governor; and Mississippi entered upon the struggle in defence of slavery in which it was to accept, almost without division, the doctrine promulgated by the State Rights party in the struggle over the tariff, and resort to the final measure sanctioned by those doctrines for the preservation of its rights, secession from the Union.

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[87]Calhoun to Maxey, September 11, 1830, Marcon, Miss., quoted in J. S. Bassett's *Life of Andrew Jackson*, II, 547. Address to the people of Mississippi by the Committee appointed by the State Rights Convention, May 12, 1834, *Supra.*

[88]*Mississippi Free Trader*, October 6, 1849.

DID THE RECONSTRUCTION REGIME GIVE MISSISSIPPI HER PUBLIC SCHOOLS?

By Elise Timberlake.[1]

There never was and probably never will be a more prosperous people on the western continent than were the Mississippians during the fifteen years just preceding the War of Secession.

From the very first these "barons of the Old South" were greatly interested in education, but there were several causes which prevented the rapid growth of public schools. The large holdings of the farmers caused a sparse distribution of the white population, which made it impossible for such an institution to be as successful as it was in the more populous sections of the North. Again, the existence of an "exclusive, aristocratic society" was opposed to the mingling of all classes even for the purpose of education. Yet we are told that there is no record of a single prominent Mississippian who ever took a stand against any of the measures proposed by the legislature for educating the bulk of the white population.

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[1]Miss Elise Timberlake, the daughter of Harry Carter and Alice Jordan Timberlake, was born in Warren county, Mississippi, October 14, 1876. Her father was at that time professor of Latin in Mississippi College at Clinton. In this quiet, little town Miss Timberlake received her education, graduating from Hillman College in 1894. Two years later she secured a position in her Alma Mater and taught there with marked success until 1909.

In the autumn of 1909 Miss Timberlake won the scholarship, offered by the Daughters of the Confederacy, in Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City. The next session she was awarded a scholarship by the authorities of the college and in June, 1912, completed the required work for the A. M. degree. During the present session she has held a position in the normal school at the Industrial Institute and College.

Miss Timberlake is a woman of strong intellect and sterling character. She is deeply interested in the educational advancement of her State and is ready to help in every possible way to preserve its past and promote its present interests.—Editor.

In the celebrated ordinance of 1787 occur these words:

"Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged in this State."

Article VII, Section 14 of the first Constitution of Mississippi is a literal transcript of this section. The state from the very beginning of its history sanctioned education in its fundamental laws. But the first real effort made by the state to foster the cause was in 1821 when the literary fund was established for the aid of schools for the poor within her borders.[2]

Previous to this, the United States by granting the sixteenth section of every township for school purposes had made liberal provision for the establishment and maintenance of public schools; but poor management rapidly decreased this fund.[3] In 1829, Governor Brandon appointed a committee to investigate educational conditions in the State and later spoke most hopefully of the interest which the people were manifesting in schools. Governor Quitman, in 1836, recommended the establishment of public schools. Governor McNutt, in 1840, said he considered a school tax absolutely necessary, and Governor Tucker urged the importance of the question saying:

"Education extends protection to the life, liberty, and property of citizens by causing peace, quiet, and stability of government."

Albert Galatin Brown, a very strong and talented man, started his campaign for public education in 1844. Even before his election as Governor, he made a very strong appeal to the people of Mississippi to establish a system of free schools. Again, in his inaugural address, he pleaded the cause of common schools with much earnestness and eloquence. He said:

"What would we think of a man who had built a ship and sent her upon a distant and perilous sea, laden with rich and costly goods without insurance? Yet we have erected a government, laden with priceless jewels of liberty and cast it upon the uncertain elements of public opinion untempered as yet by the hallowed influence of education and shall we still refuse to insure the safety of that government by refusing to con-

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[2]Riley's *School History of Mississippi,* 173.
[3]Ibid., 172.

tribute to the only means that can give it safety,—to the education of its people? The rich may say, 'We have no interest in the education of the poor!' There could be no greater or more fatal error. Pride, the love of offspring, the ephemeral pleasures of witnessing the tree of youth nurtured by our care as it expands and grows and ripens into manhood—these teach the rich to educate their own children, but the higher consideration of patriotism, the holier cause of religion and morality. the pure and unstained love of human happiness, teach them to educate the poor."[4]

The first legislature which met after Governor Brown was inaugurated failed to pass a school law, but he continued to agitate the question and finally his efforts were rewarded. On March 4, 1846, the first state school law was passed. The most important provisions of this law are: First, the Secretary of State shall be *ex officio* general school commissioner, having charge of all reports of school conditions; second, there shall be a board of five county school commissioners who shall have supervision of all the common school work in the county; third, the board of police shall, with the consent of a majority of the heads of families, levy a tax for school purposes.[5] The newspapers of this time show that there was great rejoicing on the part of the people over the passage of this law, and that they were keenly disappointed when they found a proviso had been added stating that the law could be nullified by the protest of any county. The proviso was repealed, but the law was amended so as to apply only to six counties. This began the special legislation which continued for twelve years, from 1848 to 1860. Every session of the legislature spent some time enacting special laws for special counties. In 1850 there were seventeen school laws passed, in 1864 nineteen, and the legislature of 1859-'60 passed no less than twenty-three.[6] This certainly argued no lack of interest in school matters, but rather the reverse. The people of each county or group of counties seemed to think they had a plan a little better than the one adopted by the state, or that the peculiar conditions in their county demanded peculiar laws. Some counties passed laws requiring the special tax levy; others abolished the board of school directors and put the funds back

[4]Governor Brown's message to the Legislature, January 6, 1846.
[5]Mayes' *History of Education in Mississippi,* Chapter XV.
[6]Riley's *School History of Mississippi,* 246.

into the hands of the board of police; still others appointed county superintendents and had laws similar to the present ones. The first report of the general school commissioner, after the passage of this law, shows reports from thirty-six counties in many of which beginnings had been made, houses built, teachers appointed, and schools organized. From other counties the reports said, "Nothing has yet been done," but the commissioners expressed the opinion they would be able "to put schools in full and successful operation during the next year."[7]

The school commissioner's next report shows returns from only eleven counties, but these doubtless give a just idea of what had been accomplished. Jefferson County was giving for school purposes $3,16 to each child in the poorer townships, and from $25 to $30 in the richer. The most complete report comes from Hinds county:

Number of schools	47
" " pupils	1,361
Average teachers' salary per month	$ 40
Income for school purposes	$5,800

The superintendent of Hinds County, A. Newton, speaks very confidently about the interest of the people in school matters. He says:

"The large majority are now ready and willing to pay any tax for educational purposes provided it is sufficiently high. What they want is a system of free schools."

And he adds that their only objection to the law is that the tax is not great enough to give them what they want.

The following statistics taken from the United States census report of 1850 show that Mississippi had made a beginning in public school work at that time:

Teachers	756
Common Schools	782
Pupils	18,746
Expenditure	$254,159

There were only eight counties from which no public schools

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[7]Mayes' *History of Education in Mississippi,* Chapter XV.

were reported. DeSoto County had thirty-two; Carroll, thirty-one; Noxubee, thirty; Hinds, twenty-eight; Pike, thirty-five, and Wilkinson, twenty-five.

The next census, 1860, gives the following:

Teachers	1,215
Common Schools	1,116
Pupils	30,970
Expenditure	$385,677

There was an increase of about thirty-three and one-third per cent. in the ten years. Mere figures mean little, but a comparison of the conditions in Mississippi with those in other states show that she was not so far behind after all. According to these statistics, Mississippi was spending more for public schools than California, Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, Minnesota, or New Hampshire, and three times as much as Rhode Island. In the number of schools, she ranked ahead of Maryland, Delaware, Rhode Island, and nearly equalled New Jersey and Connecticut.

So much for the abstract side of the question—the laws and statistics—but there is a practical side as well. Even before the State school law was passed, some of the largest towns had good graded free schools. In 1821 when the original survey of the town of Columbus was made, the sixteenth section was divided into town lots and leased for ninety-nine years. The rent from these, which at first amounted to $8,000, was used for the establishment and support of a public school, the first in the state. Later, a special tax was levied, as the sixteenth section fund materially decreased because of poor management. These funds combined were sufficient to maintain a good school. The first school building was a frame structure thirty by forty feet. We are told,

"It was unceiled or unplastered and had glass windows in front and long open windows with shutters in the rear."

In 1835 two brick buildings were erected, one for the male and one for the female department. These were substantial, two-story structures and were used for more than fifty years. In

1840 the text-books used were Webster's *Speller, Eclectic Readers,* Olney's *Geography,* Kirkham's *Grammar,* Smiley's *Arithmetic,* Grimshaw's *History of the United States,* and Comstock's *Philosophy.* This school has been run continually for eighty-eight years and is still one of the best equipped and most thorough in the state.[8]

Dr. Ayer P. Merrill first advocated public schools for the city of Natchez. His lecture interested Mr. Alverez Fisk in the project and, in 1845, he gave the city of Natchez the lot at the corner of Commerce Street and Bracken's Alley for a public school, "where free white children residing in the city of Natchez, without regard to sex, without tuition, shall be taught at all times the usual branches of learning." The management was placed in the hands of a board of visitors, and a tax of three and one-half mills levied annually for the support of the school. In 1846 the legislature passed an act authorizing the city to raise by taxation $10,000 annually for this purpose. The course of study included solid geometry, plane trigonometry, and two years of Greek in addition to the regular high school course. In the late forties a singing master was employed, and Natchez gave its library to the school. The average number of pupils from 1845 to 1852 was six hundred and twelve. This school also has an exceptionally fine record, and at present is one of the best in the State.[9]

About 1838 Vicksburg became interested in public school work and in 1848 had a flourishing school under the management of Dr. J. G. Holland, who afterward became famous as the author of *Katrina* and *Bitter Sweet* and the editor of *Scribner's Magazine.* The old register gives a very clear idea of the management of this school. Daily accounts of the work were kept and weekly reports made to the parents. Dr. Holland's first report, 1849, shows that there were seventy-six boys in the school who could say the multiplication table and only twenty-

[8]Goodspeed's *Memoirs of Mississippi,* II, Chapter XI; Dr. W. L. Lipscomb's *A History of Columbus, Mississippi,* Chapter XI.

[9]These facts are taken from an old historic sketch of Natchez Institute, written in 1853 and signed by the board of visitors. The pamphlet is in the clerk's office at Natchez.

two girls. The course of study consisted of "reading, spelling, geography, arithmetic (multiplication table), natural philosophy, mental arithmetic, English grammar, physiology, outline maps, declamation, composition, and vocal music. School closed with a rapid examination, select orations by six boys, and an elegant oration by Rev. C. K. Marshall." A year later, chemistry and Latin were added to the course, a school library was started and chemical and philosophical apparatus was purchased. The register shows an average enrollment of five hundred and three for the twelve years, from 1848 to 1860. After this time, no further regular record was kept, though there is a list of teachers for October, November and December, 1861, and January, 1862. The school was under the general management of a board of commissioners, consisting of seven of the most prominent citizens of Vicksburg who say in one of their reports, "The school is popular and its failure would prove the greatest disaster to the community." This school was also supported by a special tax which, in 1849, amounted to $5,000.[10]

On March 5, 1846, the legislature passed an act donating ten lots to the city of Jackson for school purposes. They were placed in the hands of seven trustees appointed by the legislature, who were to sell or lease these lots and with the proceeds build two substantial brick buildings, one for the boys and one for the girls. The city was to have the use of these for free school purposes as soon as proper provision was made for sustaining such a school. This must have been done speedily; for as early as 1850 Jackson had a public school numbering two hundred pupils.[11] In 1852 the school was in charge of Mr. St. Clair, a graduate of New York College. Two years later, Rev. Oscar Newton accepted the principalship. He is a native Mississippian, who graduated at Yale and went to Union College, New York, to take his theological course. Practically the same

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[10]This register is in the possession of Mrs. J. T. Reade, of Vicksburg, wife of the late John T. Reade, who was Superintendent of the Vicksburg schools from 1852 to 1862.

[11]See report of A. Newton, county superintendent of Hinds county, to the general school commissioner. Appendix to *Senate Journal*, 1850.

branches were taught then as now and the curriculum was as high while the scholarship was as good, if not better, than it is in the average public school of to-day. Mr. Newton was paid one hundred dollars a month for his services, usually in cash; but when there was not enough money in the treasury, city warrants were issued and these were frequently discounted by the banks. There were, besides the principal, three lady assistants, one of whom, Miss Maria Cotton, a native of North Carolina, was educated in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. These schools were well patronized, being for some years the only schools in town.[12]

Free schools had been organized in many other communities, so that by the beginning of the war "graded public schools were well established in all the largest towns in the State."

The opinion that there were no county free schools in Mississippi before the war is very prevalent and must be due in some measure to the difficulty which the reconstructionists experienced in getting hold of any records. Many of the county superintendents say, "We can find out nothing in regard to the schools before the war"; "The former boards will not turn over the records to us"; "They have made way with all the papers pertaining to school matters."[13] These charges were true in many cases, for in Hinds County the trustees of the school in township six, range two, west, burned all the records rather than see them fall into the hands of the new county superintendent. Again, these schools were known as "township schools" instead of public or free schools so that old people will frequently say, "No, there were not any public schools until after the war," and then add as an afterthought, "but we did have township schools." A third reason for this opinion arises from the method of conducting the schools. In some townships there was money enough to run the schools for ten months without any tuition charge. This was true of the school in township six, range seven, west, of Hinds County, taught by Mr. Lockhart in 1855 and '56; of the Queens-

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[12]These facts were contributed by Rev. Oscar Newton, now principal of the Newton Institute at Crystal Springs, Mississippi.

[13]Appendix to *House Journal* of 1870 and 1871.

hill school also in Hinds County, taught by Judge E. E. Baldwin;[14] and of a school in the third district of Scott County, taught by Mr. Jeff Bell in 1855 and '56. Where the money was not sufficient to pay a teacher, different plans were adopted. In some of the counties, all the teachers went up to the county seat the first Monday in January when the board of police met, carrying with them a list of the children in these schools. Then the school fund was divided among these teachers according to the number of scholars. The teachers then gave the parents or guardians of each pupil a receipt crediting them a certain part of their tuition.[15] Another plan was to have the children pay the full amount charged for tuition and take a receipt for this from the teacher in charge. These receipts were then all carried up to the board of police or trustees of the school fund, who gave each one a rebate amounting sometimes to half the tuition paid, sometimes to more than half, according to the amount of income for school purposes. Still another method was to distribute the public fund to the poor children and let all the others pay their full tuition.[16] It is easy to see how every one of these plans would produce the impression that the schools were private in character while in reality the people only paid enough tuition to supplement the public fund. The plan was not very different from the one which many communities pursue to-day when they run their schools for four months with public money and then continue them for a term of a month or six weeks with private funds.

The rural schools seem to have been very primitve affairs, doing only elementary work, running for irregular terms and frequently having inefficient teachers. The old records of Pike County show that after the school commissioners passed a resolution to require teachers to be examined on reading, spelling, English grammar, arithmetic, and geography, they reconsidered and struck

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[14]Information given by the late Judge E. E. Baldwin, of Hinds county.

[15]Information given by Mr. Jeff Bell, a highly respected citizen of Clinton, Mississippi.

[16]Appendix to *Senate Journal*, 1846, p. 54.

geography off the list.[17] However, Mr. William Tate was entirely right, so far as Mississippi is concerned, when he said:

"Had the movement which started in 1850 not been interrupted and crushed by the war and reconstruction, 1870 would have seen the public school system firmly established in the South."

The wealthy willingly taxed themselves to provide good grammar and high schools in the towns where the tradesmen and artisans found their interests best subserved by the public schools. The fact that they preferred private schools or tutors for their own children is not strange. The same sentiment prevails to some extent to-day and many Southern people would still patronize the private schools, except that the poverty which has followed the War of Secession forbids such a luxury. The inability of the public to educate themselves is perhaps the only reason why the state should provide for public schools. The majority of the people of Mississippi at that time were amply able to educate their children at the best schools of this country or Europe. It is to be regretted that those wealthy land-holders were not interested enough in the handful of poor who came to live in their midst to provide better public schools. But if Massachusetts had been settled by men of means who soon amassed a fortune, it is very probable that her public school system would have been of slower growth.

Certainly, every Mississippian has reason to be grateful to such cultured men as Dr. J. G. Holland and Rev. C. K. Marshall, of Vicksburg; Mr. Alverez Fisk and Judge Thracher, of Natchez, who, though natives of the North, had cast their lots with the Southern people, and labored earnestly for the upbuilding of public education in their midst. At the same time, gratitude is due to our own great men, native Southerners, A. G. Brown, T. M. Tucker, William McWillie, and others who worked side by side with the sons of Maine, Massachusetts and New York, with a common interest in a common cause. But their efforts must have proved fruitless had not the people been ready. In many

[17]See minutes of meeting of School Commissioners at Homesville, in Pike county, October, 1846.

counties, the citizens responded to the call for schools by levying a special tax. In Jefferson County in 1852 the school fund in some townships amounted to thirty dollars a pupil. The superintendent of Hinds County said that the people complained because the tax was not large enough to give them the kind of schools they wanted.

During the turbulent years of the war, Mississippians were too busy fighting to have time or thought for schools. As a young lady in Natchez wrote:

> "Do you blame the small boys for running away from school to see the soldiers drill, or for deserting their text books to listen to the more exciting political speeches?"

The school for boys had to be closed for lack of pupils, as the call to arms was eagerly answered by every youth who could carry a musket. The girls, too, found other employment which took them from their studies so that practically all the schools which had been in operation in the state were closed. The only school work carried on was that done in the remote country districts where the horrors of war had not penetrated; or in towns where the schools happened to be in charge of Northern men who could claim the protection of the invading army. Some school work was also begun in the camps of refugee negroes, but this bore no relation to the schools of Mississippi. It was in the state without being of it.

After the war was over, the first interest shown in public education was by the legislature in 1865, during Governor Humphreys' administration. The question must have had a strong hold on the minds of the people for they passed twenty-three educational acts, among them one appropriating $20,000 to the University of Mississippi, and another empowering Meridian to levy a special tax to reopen her public schools. These facts assume a greater significance when the grave questions which the legislature had to face are taken into consideration.

In August, 1866, many teachers from Mississippi attended a national educational conference in Philadelphia. Those of New England birth memorialized Congress to leave the adjustment of all Southern affairs to the South. The memorial gives assurance

of the ability and wisdom of the Mississippi teachers as well as their prominence in the national convention. Efforts were made, just following this, to hold a teachers' association in Jackson on the third of September. The call for such a meeting brought forth conflicting opinions[18] from the people generally. Some said the times were too unsettled; that they had no assurance what course the United States government would pursue; that in a month's time, troops might even be quartered in their homes; but the teachers were unanimously in favor of it. Yet the date for the meeting was changed to October 22d, then again to January 17, 1867, when the teachers' association was organized in the old Capitol at Jackson with Dr. Walter Hillman, president of Central Female Institute, as this president. This association adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved, 1, That the establishment of a comman school system that shall meet the wants and necessities of the entire population is a desideratum of the utmost importance.

Resolved, 2, That it is the duty as well as the interest of the State through its Legislature to establish and maintain normal schools in different parts of the State, for the purpose of educating colored teachers, so that they may be qualified to labor as teachers among the colored population of the State.[19]

These facts show that there must have been a number of teachers in the state, many of whom were of Northern birth; that the movement was one to effect uniformity of purpose in white schools and to discharge the responsibility to the negro citizen evolved out of this new relation.

Doubtless the plans of the teachers would have been carried out had not the infamous reconstruction measures intervened. In 1870, when the first legislature met after the adoption of the new Constitution, the teachers showed a lively interest in school matters. Knowing that this legislature would pass a public school law of some kind, Dr. Walter Hillman, a man eminently fitted (because of his Northern birth and education, and strong Southern sympathies), to act as meditator at such a time, wrote

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[18]Clarion, August 22 to 28, 1866.
[19]See Mayes' *History of Education in Mississippi,* 282.

a pamphlet, *A Plea for the Common Schools.*[20] This was read before the legislature and copies of it distributed to the members. People who were there at that time[21] assert that this pamphlet was largely responsible for the educational measures adopted by the legislature, July 6, 1870, so far as they concerned the character and management of the schools. Certainly the stress which Dr. Hillman lays upon thorough elementary education and industrial training seems to be reflected in the new Constitution. He says:

"Lower public education should be made first and foremost. In our opinion, the establishment of high schools by State aid should be abandoned for the present and all the State's attention and resources turned to the perfecting of the common schools. . . . Industrial schools should be established where the eye and hand may be trained."

This legislature enacted laws for the immediate establishment of a system of free schools and the organization of an agricultural college.[22]

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[20]A copy of this pamphlet is now in the possession of Mrs. Howard Cabell, of Clinton, Mississippi.

[21]Mrs. Mary E. Rice and Mrs. Howard Cabell, of Clinton, Mississippi.

[22]*Laws of Mississippi,* 1870.

At the time this law passed, it was generally considered a complete innovation. In reality, however, it bears a marked resemblance to the old school law of 1846. This may be shown by a brief comparison of the two laws:

LAW OF 1846.

This law provides for:

1, A General School Commissioner whose duties shall be to keep all statistical matters pertaining to educational conditions of the State in his office and make a semi-annual report of this.

2, County superintendents who shall have the general supervision of the county schools and render an annual report to the General Commissioner.[23]

3, County school commissioners, five in each county, appointed by the Board of Police. They were to serve for one year, to hold quarterly meetings, elect a President and a Secretary, adopt by-laws, decide what schools should be termed county schools, issue licenses, employ teachers, etc.

4, A Board of Police to levy a special school tax, not more than one-fourth of the State tax, provided the majority of the heads of families gave their consent in writing.

5, Funds arising from sale or lease of sixteenth sections to be placed in the hands of Commissioners for school purposes.

6, All escheats, fines, forfeitures, and all monies arising from licenses for the sale of spiritous liquors, or for licenses granted to peddlers, hawkers, brokers, etc., to be set apart for school purposes.[24]

LAW OF 1870.

This law provides for:

1, A State Superintendent of Education whose duties shall be to keep reports from various counties, make an annual report to the Legislature, and have general supervision of all school interests of the State.

2, County superintendents, who shall have general supervision of county schools, make an annual report embracing certain information required by the State Superintendent regarding the number of educable children, the amount of school fund, etc.

3, Boards of school directors, consisting of six members. These were appointed by the Board of Supervisors and each held office for six years. The County Superintendent was *ex officio* president of the board and the clerk of the Circuit Court was *ex officio* secretary. They were to meet quarterly; to make all needful by-laws; to divide school districts into subdivisions where necessary; to secure school grounds, establish graded schools, etc.

4, A Board of Supervisors to levy a special tax, as estimated by the County School Board, provided it was not more than fifteen mills.

5, Management of sixteenth section land by County Board and the appropriation of proceeds to school purposes.[25]

6, All fines, forfeitures, and monies for licenses, as well as gifts for school purposes to be placed in the hands of the State Board.[25]

[23]This was a special act passed in 1848, and applied only to Hinds, Tunica, Jefferson, Wilkinson and Amite counties.

[24]*Laws of Mississippi,* 1846.

[25]*Laws of Mississippi,* 1870; Chapter I.

Superintendent Henry R. Pease, in his report of 1871, says: "A system was finally adopted which embraced to a greater or less extent features of all the above mentioned measures" (laws of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and the Mississippi law, 1846). The comparison makes it very evident that the attempt which the state superintendent speaks of , "to resurrect the Mississippi system of 1846,"[26] was largely successful. However, there were differences between the two laws, the most marked of which was the fact that the first provided for no fat salaries while the second called for salaries out of all proportion to the resources of the state, the abilities of the employees or the amount of work done. These objectionable features of the law of 1870 will be considered more minutely later.

People who argued that there was opposition to any kind of public school law in Mississippi, support their claim by reference to the violent protests which the law of 1870 evoked. That Mississippians were not opposed to a school law but eager for it, is shown by the teacher's association of 1867. However, the indignation of the whole state was aroused when it became known that the law provided for no separate schools for the whites and the negroes. Repeated efforts were made by the few Democrats and some white Southern-born Republicans in the legislature to amend section 49 of the school act so that it should provide for "separate schools to meet the wants of the white and colored children,"[27] but each time the effort was defeated. Naturally, the people concluded that, as the system was created primarily for the negroes, the white people would be forced to send their children to school with their former slaves or to let them grow up in ignorance, as they were no longer able to afford the expense of private schools. Ignorance was the preferable alternative, and the white people refused to send to the public schools until the reconstructionists were thoroughly convinced of the folly of attempting to put such measures into practice. The *Clarion*[28] declares that such a law is "a heinous abomination of mongrelism"

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[26] *Laws of Mississippi*, 1846; p. 98.
[27] *House Journal*, 1870, p. 464.
[28] March 11, 1868.

and that "it would take a standing army to enforce it." The county superintendent of Clark County says: "The conviction is general that any effort to educate both races in the same schools would destroy the entire system,"[29] and Governor Alcorn says that there is a demand that "the schools themselves be kept entirely separate."[30]

And yet Mississippians were not opposed to the education of the negro. On the other hand, they felt that their only safety lay in giving him a training which would fit him for his new duties and responsibilities. At a citizens' meeting held in Oxford, June 12, 1866, a set of resolutions was adopted declaring that the time had come when the Southern people would provide ways and means for the education of the freedmen. Then follow eight resolutions setting forth the reasons for such a course; that ignorant voters were a menace to the commonwealth; that the negro educated by Northern people became the enemy of the Southerners while if he had Southern teachers, he became their friend.[31] The teachers' association of 1867 advocated the education of the negro. Ex-Governor A. G. Brown spoke heartily in favor of this cause and a few years later, State Superintendent Bardwell, a Democrat, strongly advised the teachers of the South to put aside their prejudice and teach the negro schools. The superintendent of Rankin County, in his report of 1873, says that the white citizens took more interest in the organization of schools for negro children than their own parents did. Some of the most respected citizens of the county had built houses for colored schools and others had furnished them free of charge. These gentlemen visited the schools, urged the negroes to send their children and helped the teachers to preserve order. This report speaks at some length of the representative citizens who advocated negro schools. Among them were J. M. Quinn, E. Barksdale, Colonel W. B. Shelby and Governor Robert Lowrey.

The question then arises, if the white people were in favor of

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[29]Appendix to *House Journal*, 1871. Report of superintendent of Clark county.

[30]Message of 1871.

[31]Fleming's *Documentary History of Reconstruction,* Chapter IV, p. 174.

educating the negro, why were the schoolhouses burned in some localities and the teachers of negro schools whipped or driven away? This state of affairs seems to have risen not from opposition to the negro schools but to the demoralizing effect on labor.

"In many counties, old, gray-headed negro men and women, fired with a zeal for learning, refused to work in the field, and, procuring blue-backed spellers, insisted upon spending their time in school."[32]

The farmers, still dependent as they were upon negro labor, became desperate and resorted to the only means they knew to put the negroes back into the field. Another feature of the new school law which angred the Southerners was its expense. The people, already overburdened with taxes, regarded it as a scheme for highway robbery instituted by a class, the majority of whom were not taxpayers and did not share even a small part of the burden. There was reckless expenditure in every department of school work. The law sanctioned a county tax of fifteen mills for school purposes alone, while to-day the county school tax never exceeds three mills. But something like this was certainly necessary to carry on the school system which the reconstructionists had inaugurated. In 1871 the total expenditure was $869.766.76. The state superintendent had a salary of $3,000 and was allowed $1,200 for clerk hire; members of the county board received $3 a day and mileage; the county superintendent, $5 a day for every day of actual labor and, from the accounts that these superintendents gave, they seem to have worked six days in the week and every week in the year. Almost without exception, in their reports of 1871, 1872 and 1873, they advocate increasing the county superintendent's salary. The teachers' salaries were in proportion to the others. Dr. Garner gives the following list compiled from the state superintendents' reports of the average monthly salary of public school teachers in Mississippi: 1870, $60; 1871, $58.90; 1872, $51.37; 1873, $50; 1874, $55.47; 1875, $39.87. The highest average in any county was $75.26 in Chicasaw in 1873.[33] In Raymond,

[32]Information given by Dr. Franklin L. Riley, University, Mississippi.
[33]Garner's *Reconstruction in Mississippi.*

Hinds County, the first principal of the school after the war received $140 a month in greenbacks, though she had not more than forty pupils.[34] Governor Alcorn, in 1871, said: "While the average pay of the teachers in the Northern schools is less than $300 a year, salaries in Mississippi range from $720 to $1,920 a year." And most of this money was given to Northern men and women, who, no matter how good their intentions may have been, were really sowing the seeds of discord and strife between the races.

In the next place, these new school officers concluded that the schoolhouses used in the antebellum days were wholly unfit for their purposes. Governor Alcorn warned them against incurring heavy expense, saying:

"Load the people at the outset with too great a burden and they will sink under the load despondingly. * * * I submit to you that you set the system going in the cities, large towns and populous districts, and that you wait to watch the results before pressing it into those parts of the State which are thinly settled and so poor in resources as to condemn the system by its introduction into those districts permanently, to inevitable failure."[35]

In spite of this warning, expensive school buildings were erected wherever a handful of little negroes could be got together. Allen B. Huggins, Superintendent of Monroe County, "an ex-Union soldier and a former agent of the Freedmen's Bureau," expended $26,520 the first year for buildings, positively refusing to use those which the people offered him. Another superintendent makes this report:

"There are now completed in Warren County twelve new school houses, 24x40 feet, and 14 feet high in the clear, on foundation of brick; and abundant light and ventilation. The ventilation is obtained by a fan door in the center of the ceiling operated by cords, thus creating a constant and free circulation of air at all times; the inside is furnished with good matched dressed flooring, wainscoting extending all around the room as high as the window sills. * * * They are covered with first-class dressed weather boarding; good strong steps, well boxed in, lead to the doors; roof covered with the best cypress shingles. Each building is situated on an acre of ground, neatly enclosed in a high picket fence; and cistern walled in and strongly arched with brick and cement. All the wood work is well painted with three coats of the best lead and

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[34]Information given by Mrs. Janie McIntosh, Raymond, Mississippi.
[35]Alcorn's Message. Appendix to *House Journal* of 1871, p. 16.

oil paints and the entire inside of the building finished with two rich coats of brown mortar neatly whitewashed."

Each one of these houses cost $2,390, making a sum of $28,680 for buildings alone.[36]

Again, much of the money was not spent for school purposes at all, but squandered by the men who had it in charge. The county superintendent of Newton County, in 1873, reported that "owing to the reckless management of the first county board, the school system is not popular with the people and it will require years of good management of the schools and financial matters therewith to get rid of the prejudice against and restore confidence in the public school system." In Lafayette County the school board in a few months is charged with having expended $3,500 in cash and $4,000 in credit with almost nothing to show for the outlay.[37] The Lincoln County superintendent in 1873 said that from the best evidence he could obtain, the former superintendent, W. T. Spencer, was defaulter for $1,500, and added, "Public sentiment is very much averse to the school system on account of its expensiveness."

Another cause for opposition was the fact that the school system was inaugurated by the enemy and operated by them. The people had no voice; for the county superintendents were appointed by the state board of education, who were in turn appointed by the governor; and the county board was named by the board of supervisors which Governor Ames appointed in each county. The same thing was true of many of the teachers in many counties. Examinations were a mere farce, held orally by the county superintendent. He asked what questions he pleased, suiting them generally to the ability of the teacher whom he wished to put in charge of the school. A Southern lady who took the examination in Jackson just after the war gives the following account:

"The class [the teachers who were to be examined] were seated on a long bench, with Mr. Chance, the only white man, at the head, then my-

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[36]Report of M. S. Hasie, Superintendent of Warren County, Appendix to *House Journal*, 1871.

[37]Garner's *Reconstruction in Mississippi.*

self and Miss Ashburn, the only two white women. Below us the negroes sat all in the same line. Mr. Pease and Mr. Tucker conducted the examination by asking questions of first one end then the other. I cannot remember that the negroes answered any, but I was proud of myself for being able to tell who Lycurgus was and thus turning down the only white man in the class."[38]

The character of the men who had the work in charge was enough to prejudice the Southern people, had there been no other objection to the system. The county superintendents in many cases were ex-Union soldiers or carpetbaggers, men without much education and with little fitness for the work. Superintendent Pease himself complained that they would not send in their reports and says that some of them were not morally the kind of men the people had the right to expect. The superintendent of Hinds County, John C. Tucker, was a Union soldier who was discharged at New Orleans. He secured the promise of the county superintendency but was completely stranded so that he had to pawn his watch to get money enough to come to Jackson. He held the office two years and at the end of the term the governor reappointed him. But the senator of Hinds, Charlie Caldwell, knowing the man's rascality, had a committee appointed to investigate his dealings. This committee summoned the trustees of several township funds—Dr. McKay, George Robertson, M. Birdsong, E. E. Baldwin and others. These men all had receipts for money paid to Tucker, which he had never turned over to the county. As fast as they showed the receipts, he deposited the money in the bank until the sum reached $7,000. Of course, the senate refused to ratify his appointment. He left Jackson and went directly to Denver where he opened a bank.[39]

Henry R. Pease, the first state superintendent of education, seems to have been very capable, though, of course, he was a Northern man, an abolitionist, and heartily in sympathy with Ames' administration. At one time he threatened to dismiss a white teacher in Hinds County because she reprimanded a negro

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[38]This story is told by Mrs. Janie McIntosh, of Raymond, Mississippi.

[39]This information was given by Judge E. E. Baldwin, who says that Mr. Tucker was, in 1907, Superintendent of the Soldiers' Home at Hampton, Virginia.

boy for hitting her with a ball, saying that she should have referred the matter to him instead of speaking to the youth herself. No greater injustice was done Mississippi during the whole reconstruction period than the appointment of Thomas H. Cardoza as state superintendent to succeed Henry R. Pease. He was a native of South Carolina, a light mulatto, who passed when he could for a Spaniard. Before he was appointed to the state superintendent's office, he had been clerk of the circuit court in Warren County. Here he conceived the plan of issuing witness certificates, correctly made out and signed "by mark." These certified that some man (whose name Cardoza either forged or manufactured) had served a number of days as a witness and was entitled to a certain amount of this service. The large number of these papers attracted the attention of the Auditor, but when Cardoza was questioned, he said they were issued for negroes who could not write, and so the matter was not sifted for years. He also collected money for taxes which he failed to turn over to the proper authorities. The office of state superintendent only offered added opportunities for embezzlement and fraud. Cardoza was treasurer of the Tugaloo fund for the maintenance of the university. When the state warrants, issued for the support of the school, were turned over to him he paid less than half the money to the school authorities and sold the other warrants to the Capitol State Bank in Jackson, appropriating the money to his own use. Later, when a committee was appointed to investigate the matter, he tried to get Henry Wolf, superintendent of Hinds, to borrow the warrants from the bank so he could show them to the legislative committee and thus prove they were still in his hands. He proposed a scheme to the Warren County superintendent by which they might realize a large sum. There was a difference of one thousand one hundred and forty-two in the number of children in Warren County as estimated by the county assessor and by the state superintendent. By estimating the tax upon the state superintendent's report and paying out the money upon the basis of the assessor's estimate, they could have realized about $4,000. Cardoza promised to make it all right in Jackson if the superintendent of Warren County would "take

care" of the matter in Vicksburg. He made an attempt to get a bill through the legislature, providing for the adoption of certain text-books for the state, and it developed later that he had an arrangement with the publishing house by which he was to get twenty per cent. on all sales and $2,000 if he got the bill through the legislature. At various times he bought large numbers of school registers, class books, and ledgers from E. T. Hobart, of St. Louis. He had absolutely no use for these but made the purchases because he received a certain per cent. of every order. When he was finally brought to trial in 1876, he must have realized the amount of testimony which could be brought against him for he soon asked to be allowed to resign and the request was granted.[40]

Such men were put into the office, not because they were well equipped or capable but simply that the Southern people might learn what to expect from those who ruled and might see the position the negro was to fill in the new system. Under such conditions certainly Mississippians would have been justifiable in condemning the public schools in general and in particular. But they fully realized that duty as well as their own necessity demanded an effort on their part to bring success out of failure. Consequently they worked earnestly and patiently, in spite of injustice and insult, to evolve from the chaos of the reconstruction a public school system of which the State could be proud. The reports of Superintendents Preston, Kincannon, Whitfield and Powers, show that their efforts have been rewarded and that our people have a right to be proud of the schools which they have encouraged almost from the time the state was organized to the present day.

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[40]Impeachment Trials, 1876.

THE UNIVERSITY WAR HOSPITAL.

By Mrs. Jemmy Grant Johnson.[1]

It has been extremely difficult to collect facts concerning the hospital maintained at the University of Mississippi during the

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[1]Mrs. Jemmy Grant Johnson was born in Tallehassee, Florida. She received her B. A. degree from the Florida State College, having graduated with the first honors of her class. She afterwards taught in the Normal School at De Funiak Springs and later in the State College at Tallehassee. In 1895 she married Prof. John C. Johnson.

Her maternal grandfather, Col. George Taliaferro Ward, was of Irish descent. He was born at Paris, Kentucky, but shortly thereafter removed with his family to Leon county, Florida. His mother, Annie Hooc, belonged to the family of that name in Virginia. Colonel Ward was a member of the secession convention of Florida. Like General Lee, he opposed secession, but finally adhered to his state. He was a representative from Florida in the provisional congress at Montgomery. While in Montgomery, he was elected colonel of the Second Florida Regiment. In the peninsular campaign in Virginia, he commanded not only his own regiment, but also the Second Mississippi Battalion which was under Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor. Colonel Ward was killed in the battle of Williamsburg, Virginia, and was buried at that place. He was famous throughout his state and in other parts of the South as a scholar, statesman, and orator. President Davis in *the Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* praises Colonel Ward's gallant conduct at Yorktown and at Williamsburg, quoting General Early's report which says that Colonel Ward was "as true a gentleman and as gallant a soldier as has drawn sword in this war." (See Fleming's *Florida Troops in Virginia,* 33 et seq.) Mrs. Johnson's maternal grandmother's maiden name was Sarah Jane Chaires. Her parents were French Huguenots, who came to America in the early days of the settlement of St. Augustine, Florida, at which place they settled. They later removed to Leon county, Florida.

Mrs. Johnson's paternal greatgrandfather was Dr. Robert Grant of Grant Clan in Scotland. He was a surgeon in the British navy, and served on an English fleet that blockaded Charleston in the Revolutionary War. He escaped from this fleet to join the American army, and served as a surgeon on General Marion's staff until the end of the war. Her paternal grandfather was Charles Grant, a wealthy land owner of Georgia. He was too old to serve in the War of Secession, but he sent his seven sons into the Confederate army. Her paternal grandmother's maiden name was Cornelia Venable Bond—an English lady, related to the Venables of Virginia and to Sir Edward Houstoun of England. Mrs. Johnson's father was Lieut. James Bond Grant of General Gardiner's staff. He served throughout the War of Secession.—Editor.

War of Secession, since, after a lapse of over fifty years, many of those most intimately associated with the work have died and others have moved away. Those who still survive find that time has changed what were once vivid memories into faint and uncertain recollections. It has been necessary to collect data from points as widely separated as Oklahoma and Florida, Ohio and California.[2] The writer feels much gratification in the fact that after this arduous search she is at last able to give an authentic account of what took place at the University of Mississippi during the period from 1861 to 1865.

It is probable that four-fifths of all the young men whose names appear upon the rolls as students of the University of Mississippi, from its organization in 1848, up to the beginning of the war in 1861, enlisted in the Confederate service, and of these a very large proportion sacrified their lives in the service of the State. At the close of the session of the university in the spring of 1861 there was some hope of resuming the exercises in the following fall. At the appointed time, however, only four students presented themselves for matriculation. Realizing that the war would continue indefinitely, all members of the faculty; namely, Chancellor Barnard, Doctors Quinche, Sears, Trotter and Professors Boynton, Phipps, Whitemore and L. Q. C. Lamar

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[2]The following sources have been used in the preparation of this article:

The Historical Catalogue of the University of Miss., 1909.

Personal letters from:

Mrs. F. B. Henwood, Lynchburg, Va., written June 5, 1911;
Dr. E. W. Hilgard, Berkeley, Cal., written June 6, 1911;
Miss Helen Conkey, Clearwater, Fla., written June 28, 1911;
Mrs. George W. Sulser, Maysville, Ky., written Feb. 12, 1912, and Feb. 23, 1912.

Personal interviews with:

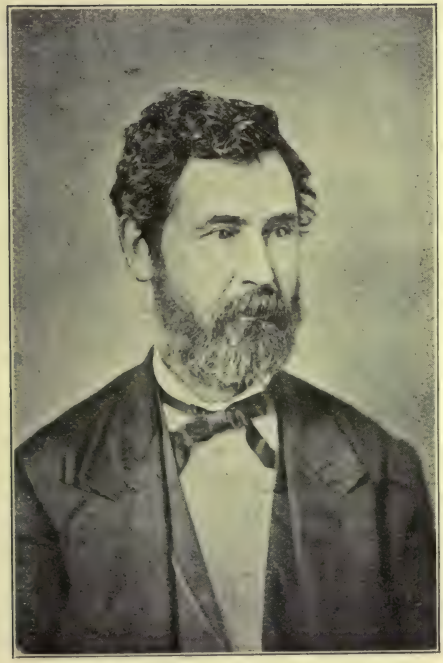
Dr. R. B. Fulton, of Miller School, Va; and the following persons, all of whom now live in Oxford, Mississippi:

Dr. and Mrs. A. M. King,
Miss Lou Neilson,
Miss Mattie McKee,
Mrs. M. L. Tomlinson,
Mrs. W. C. Neil,
Miss Cornelia Skipwith,
Mrs. E. A. Thompson,
Mr. A. H. Kendel,
Mr. William Jenkins,
Mrs. Emma Harris.

resigned. Several of these, including Professor Boynton and Dr. Barnard went North. Dr. Quinche remained upon the campus, and was appointed by the board of trustees custodian of the university property and buildings. He resided in the observatory building, and during the greater part of the war, conducted a small school there under authority of the trustees. Mr. Burton Harrison, afterward Secretary to President Davis, was associated with Dr. Quinche in this work from September, 1861, until the spring of 1862. He did this because his mother, who was very unwilling for him to leave for Virginia, had exacted a promise from him, that he would remain in Oxford during the winter. Having secured the appointment as private secretary to President Davis, through the influences of L. Q. C. Lamar, he went to Richmond in March, 1862. Dr. Quinche was a native of Minnesota, but had spent a number of years in Illinois, and there had become intimately associated with the family of General Grant. It is probably due to this intimacy with General Grant, and also to Dr. Hilgard's influence with Col. A. J. Smith, that the buildings and other property of the university were spared during the war.

The history of the university buildings during this conflict may be divided into three distinct periods. They were first used as a Confederate hospital, but were hastily evacuated upon the advance of Grant's army to Oxford. Then followed the period of occupation and use as a Federal hospital. The third period began with the retreat of the Federal army to Memphis and the occupation of the buildings as a hospital by General Forrest's corps.

The first period of the hospital was from Shiloh to November, 1862. Immediately after the battle of Shiloh, June 6 and 7, 1862, word was brought to Oxford that there would be sent down that evening, numbers of sick and wounded soldiers, to be cared for at the university. This was the occasion of the first establishment of a hospital at that place. When this news reached Oxford excitement ran high in the town. There was a rushing and hurrying to and fro between the town and the campus. Many of the homes were stripped of mattresses, beds, cots, bed-



DR. A. J. QUINCHE

ding and everything that could be spared, or that could contribute to the comfort of the men who had spared no sacrifice for the defense of their country. The chapel building was filled with cots, and even the galleries were spread with pallets so thick that there was scarcely room for the attendants to pass between. While the chapel was the first and main building used for hospital purposes, all buildings then on the campus were used; namely, three dormitories, still standing; one double residence, where Gordon Hall now stands; one double residence on the site of the new library; one residence immediately in the rear of the Lyceum; the observatory building; the Lyceum; and the small brick building, now occupied (1912) by the D. K. E. fraternity, but originally built for a magnetic observatory.

The observatory proper was occupied by the families of Dr. Quinche and Dr. Hilgard. Mr. Burton Harrison resided there also. The Lyceum was used as a dispensatory, but during the time of greatest rush and need, cots were placed there also, and tents were spread upon the campus for those having contagious diseases. Committees were appointed to meet the trains daily, and the soldiers were examined and assigned places in the hospital or in tents as need demanded. The dormitories were fitted up with bunks built around the walls of the rooms, and mattresses were placed upon these. The house immediately in the rear of the Lyceum was used as a mess hall for the surgeons and their assistants. It was kept by Mrs. Davidson, assisted by her little girl May, who often helped to wait upon the tables. She would cry out as she passed: "Have a hot biscuit, don't take two!" The magnetic observatory was used as a morgue, and the dead were placed there, awaiting burial in the rude pine boxes that served as coffins. Hence the name "Dead House" which still clings to this building.

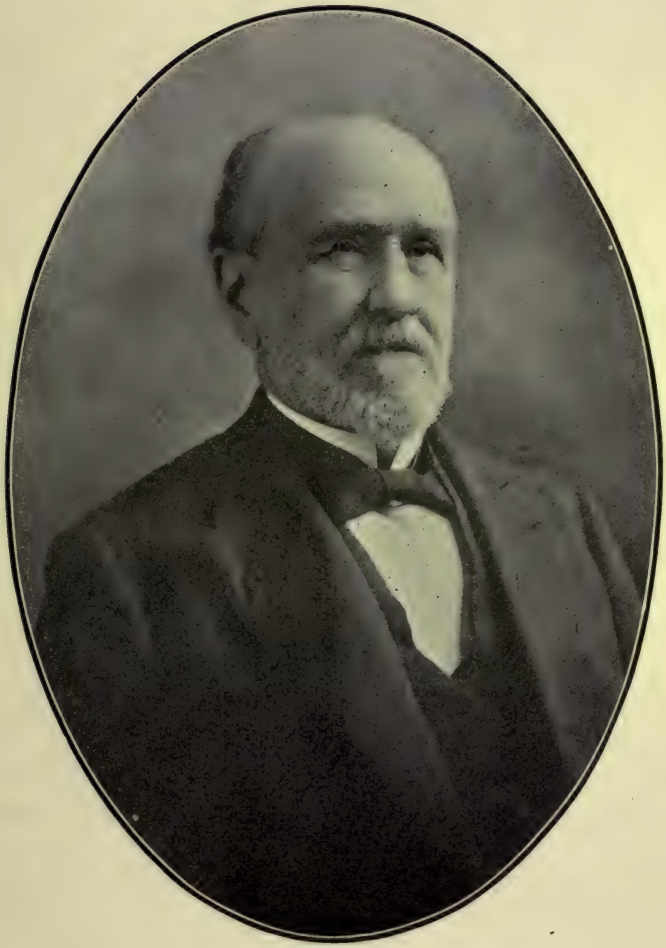
During this first period of the hospital, Dr. T. D. Isom, well known and beloved by all Oxford people, a man whose noble character and life of Christ-like service to his fellowmen needs no encomium, was appointed post surgeon. He was assisted in his work by many faithful men, among them Dr. Gillespie, of Grenada, and Drs. Chandler, Phipps, Stover, Brown, King and

Buffington, of Oxford, besides others, whose names have not been ascertained. For nurses these physicians were dependent upon the good women of Oxford, and upon the soldiers themselves, who were pressed into this new work as they became able to help, and as need called for their services.

These ladies from the town were assigned to each ward, and they took turns, carrying out daily, soups, broths, milk and such dainties as their skill could contrive, for the sick in their wards. In addition to these ladies, each ward had two men, one a negro, the other a convalescent soldier, detailed to wait upon and care for the sick and wounded. A few women came with their own sick and wounded, and having nursed them, remained to minister to other boys who were not so fortunate as to have their own mothers or sisters with them. Among these women there was a Mrs. Davis, who remained at the hospital until the last, and was accounted a most faithful and excellent nurse. Many convalescent soldiers were taken to the homes in and around Oxford, to be nursed into health, thus making room for others who were coming in. These were usually assigned by twos to the families wishing to take them.

Supplies were sent to the hospital from New Orleans and Vicksburg by the Confederate government, until the enemy cut off communication with those cities. In addition to these supplies, as has been said above, the good women of Oxford and the neighboring country sent in food and other necessities. Many wagon-loads of provisions were sent in from different parts of the county, and even from neighboring counties. The ladies worked diligently and incessantly, spinning, weaving, sewing, knitting, day after day, week after week, in order that the soldiers might not lack for clothing. Mrs. M. C. Neilson had the only sewing machine then in Oxford; and it was kept running from dawn till dark, each day, making garments for the soldiers. Even the young girls and little children were allowed to help in making bandages and scraping lint, to be used in the dressing of wounds.

Mrs. King, of Oxford, had woven with her own hands sufficent gray cloth for a suit, using thread she had dyed with home-



DR. THOS. D. ISOM

made dye, from the barks of trees. A Yankee, seeing this cloth, offered her fifty dollars in gold for it. She refused the money, preferring to keep the cloth for one of "our boys" who might need it. This is but one of many instances of self-sacrifice and deprivation suffered cheerfully and gladly by the noble women of the South; for the cause was a common cause, and every mother's boy was dear to every other mother's heart.

During this first period of the hospital, Oxford had not been burned, and medicines were supplied, in part at least, from a drug store kept on the square by Dr. King's father.

It was during this period that by far the largest number of soldiers were cared for in the hospital. Many died, and were buried in the little cemetery beyond the campus. For a time, Mr. William Jenkins, of Oxford, was in charge of this work of burying the dead, but later he removed from Oxford, and the work fell into other hands. At the close of this period, November, 1862, there remained a large number of soldiers in the hospital. Orders were received to rush them off to Grenada, and other Southern points, as Grant's army was advancing upon Oxford.

This had barely been accomplished when an invasion of the Kansas "Jayhawkers" occurred. They broke into the dispensatory, destroying stores and leaving havoc in their wake. Then they went galloping across the campus toward the observatory building, occupied at this time by the families of Dr. Quinche, Dr. Hilgard and by Mr. Burton Harrison, with his mother and sister, who had just arrived from Aberdeen, Mississippi, where they had been active in hospital work. Mrs. Sulser (Miss Harrison) describes this visit of the Jayhawkers very vividly in the following words:

"I shall never forget our horror when we looked out of the little upstairs window in the observatory that P. M. and saw a lot of wild devils (excuse the expression, no other word expresses them) come galloping from the Campus way, with long blue army overcoats flying behind them, tall peaked hats on their heads, and each one flourishing at arm's length a bright, new, tin coffee pot, stolen from some store in Oxford. They bore down upon the Observatory, burst in the main doors, and spread themselves all over the building, breaking up apparatus and chemicals, and then rushing into the dwelling apartments, frightening us women nearly to death. Fortunately, however, they had not gone very far in their course, when some officers arrived on the spot, and fairly clubbed them into obedience to their orders to get back to camp. Dr.

Buffington, who had been in charge of the hospital, was seized by these ruffians before he could follow the sick sent on ahead to Grenada, and very roughly treated by them, because he would not tell them where the whiskey supposed to be on hand for the sick, could be found. Just then they spied a large demijohn of Antimony wine, and each fellow declaring it was whiskey, immediately filled his coffee pot, and drank enough of the stuff to make him deadly sick and virtually crazy."

The disorderly retreat of those nauseated "Jayhawkers," can be more easily imagined than described.

General Grant's entrance into Oxford early in December, 1862, immediately after the invasion of the "Jayhawkers," marks the second period of the use of university buildings for hospital purposes.

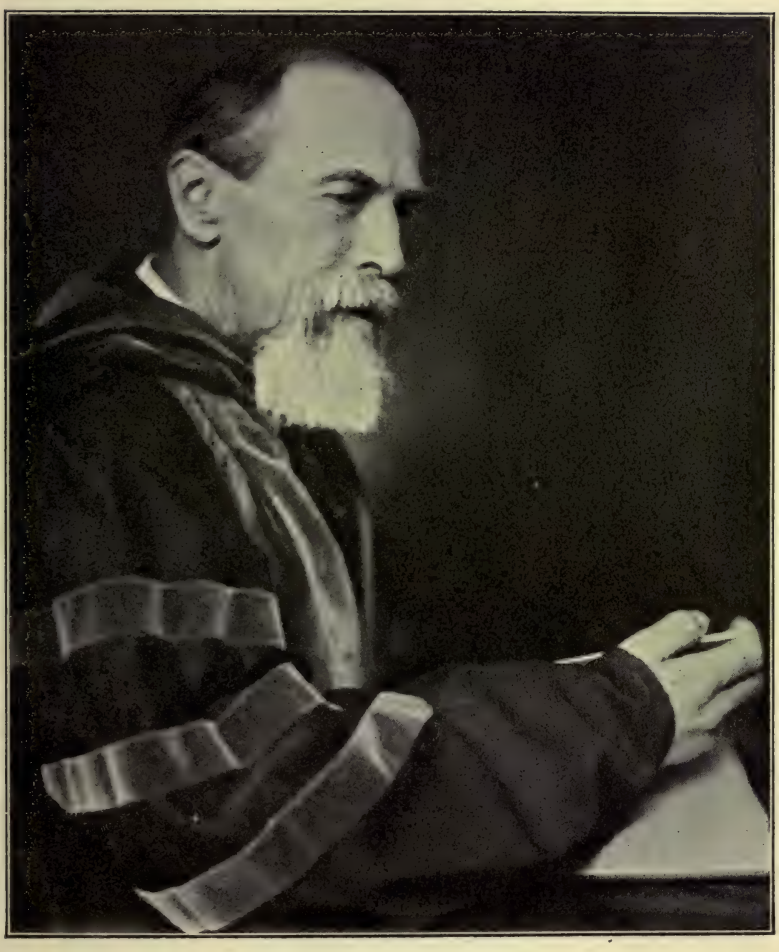
General A. J. Smith, in command of the van of Grant's army, at first intended to burn the buildings, because they had, as he said, been used for "war purposes." This was abandoned, however, upon the personal suggestion of Dr. Hilgard that occupation as a hospital was hardly a war measure, and that possibly the United States Army might have similar use for the buildings in the near future. Dr. Hilgard says:

"I made this remonstrance by virtue of being placed by the Governor in charge of the collections of the Geological Survey, which were scattered about in different buildings, and gave me as State Geologist an official right to stand guard over them, even during the war.[3] I was ordered by the Federal physicians to vacate two rooms occupied by the collections in the southeast dormitory, which I hastily transfered by means of cots (left by the Confederates, and used as litters) to the main building, placing them between cases of specimens in the main room on the second floor, where the collections remained on cots nearly to the end of the war, as I thought it useless to endanger it by attempting another move. I remember that the Confederate cots that had been left behind after the evacuation were disinfected by the Federal hospital staff before using, and I had some difficulty in getting permission to retain those on which my geological collections were accommodated. My own microscope and a number of other instruments disappeared from the collection room in the dormitory before I could make the transfer."

Upon the entry of General Grant's army into Oxford, Dr. Quinche asked that he place a guard around the university to

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[3]An interesting account of Dr. Hilgard's services as State geologist will be found in his "Historical Outline of the Geological and Agricultural Survey of the State of Mississippi" in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, III, 207-234.



DR. E. W. HILGARD

protect it. General Grant did this, and the guard was maintained throughout his stay in Oxford, with the result that the close of hostilities found the university buildings and property little injured by the vicissitudes of war.

Another extract from Dr. Hilgard's letter to the writer of this article conveys the following interesting facts:

"On the evacuation of the Confederate hospital two barrels of blackberry cordial remained in the cellar of the laboratory, and to my consternation I found that the Federals had information, probably gained through the negroes, of the presence of the liquor. Among the first things done by the outposts was their breaking into the cellar and getting drunk. This greatly alarmed me, and I reported it to Federal headquarters, to which the remainder was carried quite promptly * * *

"During the Federal occupancy of the building, I was kept in constant alarm by the depredations of camp followers, who infested the camp that reached close to the Observatory building, and who kept diligently foraging to find any hidden supplies on which they knew the families of Dr. Quinche and myself must be living. Officially the buildings were considered as being thoroughly protected and patrolled. But before this protection was established, a party of three drunken soldiers came to the Observatory building, where our two families lived, and nearly broke down the door before any one could open it. This happened to be Dr. Quinche, and they immediately pointed their pistols at him, and made him give up his watch and his money. Fearing further violence, I escaped through a side door, and appealed to a Federal patrol who had apparently been sent out for the purpose of gathering in stragglers. They were under command of a sergeant who promptly ordered them to ride to the house and expel the intruders. Professor Quinche's watch and money, however, were not recovered. I had occasion subsequently to repay the kindness of the sergeant, when he was bringing a wounded comrade from Water Valley, who was badly in need of bandages and refreshment. I made some coffee for them, after which they hastily proceeded toward Holly Springs."

Grant's army remained in Oxford three weeks. But in the meantime, General Van Dorn had flanked him, captured Holly Springs and cut off his communications with Memphis. This forced Grant to retreat to Memphis, whence he descended the river to Vicksburg by boat. General Grant left Oxford on Christmas day, 1862, and his departure closed the second period of the use of the university buildings for hospital purposes. At this time, the weather was intensely cold, mud, sleet and rain everywhere, and the country literally devastated for ten miles in all directions around Oxford. The horrors of the situation at the university were unspeakable.

The third period of the university war hospital then opened. In this connection Dr. Hilgard says:

"After the retreat of Grant's army to Memphis, we were for some time without news from the front, with only an occasional visit from Forrest's men and reconnoitering parties sent out from below. Before long, however, Forrest, finding himself in need of hospital facilities, occupied a portion of the northwest dormitory, while his own headquarters were in Oxford."

Mrs. Sulser says of the condition of that dormitory at this time:

"The wretchedness and barren forlornity of that old building, and the defaced walls, and neglected blackened floors of those dreadful rooms, with their poorest of cots, and covers; one dilapidated chair for each occupant, and a few tables and washstands scattered about, all make my heart ache, as I remember them, yet!"

As to the manner in which the hospital obtained its medical supplies at this time, Dr. Hilgard says:

"I can personally vouch for a few articles which I supplied from the university laboratory. Chief among these, was alcohol, needed to make tinctures, of which at first there was absolutely no supply. I then set to work to make alcohol by distillation of such materials as I could obtain from persimmons first, and then from molasses sent from Vicksburg. It was slow work, as the only still I had was that of a small steam apparatus in the laboratory. I also made blackberry brandy for the use of patients, since the alcohol made from persimmons and molasses did not commend itself to their taste. Quinine was the most desired drug, and most difficult to obtain, being considered contraband of war; but it, with some other drugs, was smuggled out of Memphis by farmers, then brought to Oxford by 'pony express.' Undoubtedly, a good many patients died at this time for lack of proper medicines and hospital supplies."

Grant had burned Oxford, and the drug-store there could no longer be drawn upon. Communication with New Orleans had been cut off, and these were the darkest and most trying of all those terribly dark and trying days of the war. For food, as before, the burden devolved largely upon the good women of Oxford and the neighboring country, who came bravely to the rescue, although their own supplies were dreadfully diminished, and of poorest quality, fat bacon and corn bread being in many cases all that was left of a once abundant and varied store. Mrs. Fannie Brown Avent, who lived just north of the campus, was

most faithful in bearing her part of the burden, by sending to the hospital every day a large portion of soup of some kind for which the poor boys looked most anxiously, and learned to depend upon for cheer and comfort through those sad, dark days. At this time many of the physicians who had served during the first period of the hospital, from Shiloh to November, 1862, had been called to other service, and there was no regular surgeon stationed at the hospital; for such a one could not be spared from a fuller field. But when a surgeon was needed one came to Oxford from a distance. There were never a great many patients in the hospital at this time, as there were no large battles fought near Oxford, but there were always a few to be nursed and cared for. Mrs. Frances Harrison, Mr. Burton Harrison's mother, a woman of clearest, coolest judgment, and a born nurse, took charge of the hospital at this time, and gave her untiring services day and night, to the last hour they were needed. She was always on hand to nurse those poor boys, doling out to them, with a mother's care and interest, whatever could be gathered from the other willing people out of their scantier and yet more scanty store of eatables."

Mrs. Harrison was assisted in her work by her daughter, now Mrs. Sulser, who did the sweeping, dusting, and straightening of the rooms, and often assisted in holding bandages and binding up wounds. Mrs. Harrison and her daughter prepared much of the lint and bandages themselves at home. Dr. Hilgard, too, was very active at this time, giving his services freely as an assistant and nurse. The soldiers were skeptical at first about the ability of a mere professor to do good nursing, but they soon learned to love him, and to rely upon his skill. They watched eagerly for his coming each day, which so long as his supply lasted, was accompanied by a pot of *real* coffee made by himself. This was indeed a luxury, and caused no little comment, as well as delight; for the genuine article was rare in those days. Dr. Hilgard suggested to these men that they might bring back an additional supply of coffee the next time they went to Memphis. His suggestion had a good result, inasmuch as a few weeks later he received a liberal supply of raw coffee from one of Forrest's raiders who had been under his care.

In order to give some idea of what nursing meant in those days, I will relate two instances that came under Mrs. Harrison's care. One young man had been shot in the eye, so as to destroy the sight, and loosen and shatter the ball. Yet the ball was held in the socket by ligaments that had to be cut by the most delicate surgical instruments. He was forced to wait until a surgeon could come, at his leisure, from a distance. It was necessary, therefore, that the socket and ball should be bathed and thoroughly cleansed daily. Mrs. Harrison had the nerve to take that ball out, daintily and tenderly with her finger-tips, bathe and dress the wound with what lotions and salves the doctor could furnish (for medicines were as scarce as money and food), put back the ball carefully, and bind up the whole. The surgeon finally came, treated the eye, and the boy went back into the army. He sent Mrs. Harrison messages afterward, and it is safe to say, he never forgot the loving care of his gentle nurse.

Another soldier had been shot on top of his head, so that his brain was almost exposed. The skull had been shattered and proud flesh was developing. The convalescents who had this case in charge could do nothing for him, as they turned sick at the sight of his wound. Mrs. Harrison nerved herself to this awful task, bathing and even lifting portions of the skull in order to cleanse them thoroughly. She finally prepared him for the surgeon, and he became a sound, well man, and returned to his command. These two incidents equal in bravery anything that has ever happened before the cannon or in the face of the enemy's fire!

Mrs. Sulser gives the following interesting incident in a personal letter to the writer:

"On one occasion there were a number of Yankee (wounded) soldiers in our hospital, who had been made prisoners in a skirmish out of Memphis against Forrest. Forrest had come back down to Oxford to set out again in a westerly direction to flank the regiment to which these men belonged, even to the gates of Memphis, if need be. If Forrest were known to be away toward Memphis some of the wandering companies of Yankees might swoop down upon Oxford from some nearby direction. Consequently, it was ordered that these wounded Yankee prisoners must be sent down the railroad to avoid being retaken by their own men. Mrs. Harrison and her daughter, among others, went down to the station (a mere platform, for Grant had burned the building) to see these Yankees on cots get safely off. While there General Forrest's men were seen

filing across the bridge in a westerly direction, and soon General Forrest himself, a fine-looking man, came down to the station to send a telegram. Those wounded Yankee soldiers began to stretch their necks, trying to get a good look at him; for he had become to them a very devil incarnate. Mrs. Harrison said to one of these wounded Yankees: 'Wouldn't you give your right hand to put a bullet through that man?' To which he replied with a flash of his eye, and a gasp of his breath: 'My God! I would give my *body and soul!*'"

As General Forrest's men made it very uncomfortable for the Federal garrison at Memphis, and the stations on the railroad needed it for their communication with the interior, there were many reports of expeditions sent out to dislodge or capture him. At one time Forrest ordered every man able to bear arms to join his corps, on account of such a prospective attack from the Federals. Dr. Hilgard reported to him in person, and told Forrest that as he was under orders from the governor of the state, to take care of the state property at the university, and that he also had orders from headquarters at Richmond, giving him special exemptions on account of his connection with the nitre bureau. He insisted that he ought not to be drafted under this general order. General Forrest was ill in bed at the time, and in no very good humor, so he replied that if Dr. Hilgard did not obey, he would have him shot. To this Dr. H. replied:

"You have power to do so. General, but I hardly think the act would commend itself to your superiors."

Whereupon, General Forrest roughly consigned his superiors to a dark *place*! However, Dr. Hilgard never received the order to report and he thought it was due to the fact that he had been so active in the treatment of Forrest's men in the hospital.

The third, and last, period of the hospital drew sadly to its close. The battles were over, and the cause was lost! New Orleans was cut off, the country ravaged, and Oxford burned. Almost nothing was left to draw upon. Many of the soldiers left in the hospital at that time died from sheer lack of proper food and medicines.

During the last three years of the war there were no ministers in the churches of Oxford. Consequently, no regular religious services were held either in the town or at the hospital during that time. The only services of which we have any report were

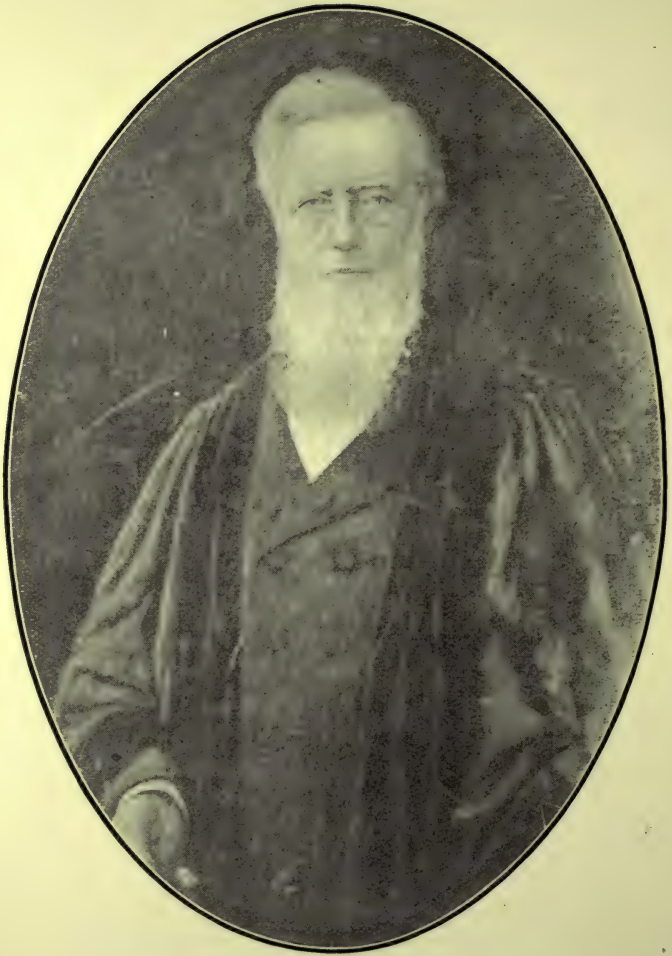
those conducted by the sainted and saintly Bishop William Mercer Green of the Episcopal church upon the occasions of his annual visits to Oxford. Upon these occasions, Mrs. Sulser, as she says, played a little melodeon, and served as a choir, singing with so much zest that the uninitiated would have mistaken her for a good Episcopalian.

The necessary inference from these facts is that the dead were buried without formal religious services, the bodies being prepared for burial and placed in the ground by convalescent comrades and other helpers about the hospital.

While the hospital was in operation, about 1,850 soldiers were cared for within its walls. Of this number over 700 sleep in unmarked graves in the little forlorn "God Acre" near the campus. Immediately after the war these graves were marked, and the young people of Oxford raised funds with which a fence was built around the place. Afterward the markers were unfortunately removed by mistake, thus destroying the identity of the separate graves.[4] The mounds were then leveled and grass was planted over the entire spot. The ladies of the Albert Sidney Johnston Chapter, U. D. C., have erected upon the campus in memory of these fallen heroes, a beautiful white marble monument, and they have had another monument of gray stone engraved, with a view to placing it in the cemetery.

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[4]It is said that Dr. M. W. Phillips, a former proctor of the University, sent some negro laborers to this cemetary with instructions to cut down all weeds and "clean up the place." They thoughtlessly removed all markers, placing them indiscriminately in a pile, and when Dr. Phillips arrived he found to his great dismay that it was no longer possible to identify any of the graves.



DR. F. A. P. BARNARD

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF DR. F. A. P. BARNARD.[1]

After my graduation I was for a few years a teacher in the preparatory school at Hartford, Conn., called the Hartford Grammar School. I was then for a year tutor in Yale College, when I was engaged as an instructor of the deaf and dumb at Hartford, Conn., whence I was transferred to an institution of the same character in the city of New York. In the reorganization of the faculty of the University of Alabama, I was elected in 1837, professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, in that institution, a chair which I held till 1848, when I was transferred to the chair of chemistry and natural history. In 1854 the University of Mississippi lost two of its professors, Albert Taylor Bledsoe, professor of mathematics, physics and civil engineering, and John Millington, professor of chemistry. Professor Bledsoe had a high reputation and was elected to a chair in Virginia. Dr. Millington was an Englishman who had been an assistant to Sir Humphrey Davy and was for a long time professor of chemistry at William and Mary College, Virginia. He was advanced in life when elected and was preferred to his competitors, chiefly, I think, because of his possession of an excellent collection of apparatus which he proposed to place at the service of the university. Incidentally I became the inheritor of this apparatus, and I found among it numerous articles of great historic interest. Among the rest several troughs of a galvanic battery which had formed parts of Davy's immense battery of 2000 plates with which he had made the astonishing discoveries of the

[1]This valuable sketch is part of a letter from Dr. Barnard to Dr. John W. Johnson, at the time Secretary of the Alumni Association of the University of Mississippi. It was written September 21, 1888, about four months after Dr. Barnard's resignation as President of Columbia University, and only seven months before his death.—EDITOR.

metals of the alkalies. I caused these troughs to be carefully repaired and left injunctions at the university for their permanent preservation as interesting relics of scientific history. They ought to be there still. There was in the faculty of the university at the time a professor who had been an alumnus and an officer of the University of Alabama—in fact, one of my own students, Prof. Wilson G. Richardson. After serving two or three years as an adjunct professor of the Alabama University, he had spent two or three years in Paris for his own personal improvement. In the summer of 1854 he visited Tuscaloosa, the seat of the university, and gave me the first imformation I had received of the vacancies open in the University of Mississippi. He urged me very strongly to present myself as a candidate for one of them, but I was very well contented with my position in Tuscaloosa and I resisted his solicitations. There was, however, a clergyman in Tuscaloosa, rector of Christ's Church in that city, who was a retired teacher and who had an ambition to return to the educational profession. He avowed his intention of competing for the chair of chemistry and proposed to visit Oxford personally in September, 1854, to press his candidacy before the board who had been summoned to meet for the purpose of filling the vacancies. Mr. Johnson, the candidate here referred to, invited me to drive with him to Oxford, and I consented to do so, without any intention of interesting myself any further in the election. On the way we stopped at Columbus, Miss., where I met a prominent citizen who was an alumnus of the University of Alabama, and who still resides in that city, Col. Wm. M. Meek, who gave me a good deal of information in regard to the University of Mississippi, and added his recommendation to me to apply for one of the vacant places.

On the following day we met one of the trustees of the university, Col. George H. Young,[2] one of the most noble-minded and generous-hearted men I have ever seen in my life. He resided

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[2]A brief sketch of Colonel Geo. H. Young will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, V, 264. See also ibid., IX, 177.—EDITOR.

on his plantation at Waverly, a little above Columbus, on the Tombigbee river, and we spent a pleasant day at his house. Colonel Young was very earnest in his endeavor to induce me to be a candidate for the election; but I left him without making any promises. However, on arriving at Oxford we took lodgings at the hotel, then known as Robinson's, which has since assumed the pretentious name of the University Hotel, through without any authority. The trustees were assembled in the other hotel, known as Butler's and we soon formed their acquaintance, Mr. Johnson being an avowed candidate. The chairman of the board was Col. Jacob Thompson,[3] afterwards Secretary of the Interior under Mr. Buchanan. The clerk of the board was Col. J. M. Howry. A number of the trustees urged me to apply for the chair of chemistry, but I declined to do it, not only because I did not intend to be a candidate at all, but because I was unwilling to compete with my friend, Mr. Johnson. Colonel Thompson invited me to his house and I received a good deal of attention in Oxford. I was so much impressed with the evident desire to induce my acceptance to some position in the university, that I at length said I might possibly accept the chair of mathematics, but I would not take the chair of chemistry, notwithstanding which the board proceeded to fill the chemistry chair and then instructed their clerk to go to the University Hotel and announce to me that I had been elected professor of chemistry. I responded by positively declining it, referring to the statement I had already made that I could not accept that chair. The clerk withdrew and after an interval of about half an hour he returned to say that the board had elected me professor of mathematics, physics and civil engineering. I considered myself pledged to accept this appointment and did so; but for professor of chemistry they had elected a candidate from Virginia, unknown to me by name or reputation then, and whose name I do not now remember. There had been two other candidates besides this

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[3]A brief sketch of Colonel Jacob Thompson will be found in ibid., V, 259. For a description of his home in Oxford, see ibid., VI, 261-263.—EDITOR.

one, one who was a resident of South Mississippi, by name Elliott, and the other my companion. I think Mr. Elliott came near being elected, but he ruined his prospects by an error of judgment. He was a licensed preacher of the Presbyterian church and he had heard it said that the trustees had expressed an unwillingness to elect any more clergymen, having said that they were only the means of entangling them with the different religious denominations. Mr. Elliott had the impression that his vocation as a minister stood in the way of his success and in order to remove this obstacle he addressed the board a communication stating that he had resigned his ministerial office and enclosing a copy of his letter of resignation. The effect was directly the contrary of what he had anticipated. When the letter was read, a trustee, who held in his hand a written ballot in favor of Mr. Elliott, suddenly tore it up and threw it on the floor, exclaiming, "There goes one vote." He was imitated by the trustees generally, so that the election turned in favor of the Virginia candidate. Mr. Johnson stood no chance. The curious result followed that during the ensuing year we had no professor of chemistry, for the candidate never appeared. The executive committee of the trustees therefore invited me to discharge the duties of professor of chemistry *ad interim,* and I consented to do so, filling both chairs for an entire year. In this way I became charged with Dr. Millington's apparatus and spent a very laborious though interesting interval. The chair was filled the following year by the election of a West Point graduate, Prof. E. C. Boynton, or as he was called by his military title, Captain Boynton. Boynton had been a soldier in the Mexican campaign under Scott and was actively concerned in the battles of Contreras and Chipultepec, where he was wounded. He was an energetic officer, but not contented with his position. He had a great ambition to be elected professor of chemistry at West Point, but was disappointed in consequence of what he thought to be the personal hostility toward him of Jefferson Davis, then Secretary of War. I held the chair of mathematics and physics for seven years, retaining it after I had become president and chancellor of the university.

In the winter of 1854-'5 the trustees met, as they were accustomed to do, during the session of the legislature at Jackson. I had, immediately after my connection with the university began, raised a question, what had become of the university endowment, or so-called "Seminary Fund" obtained from the sale of lands granted by congress to the State at the time of its admission in 1817. There remained at that time to the credit of the fund only about $80,000, and I was confident there ought to be much more. I put the question to Colonel Thompson, who said that there had been a great deal of legislation about the fund and the facts could only be ascertained at the comptroller's office at Jackson. He promised to examine the books when the trustees met again. Accordingly in the winter of 1854-5 he looked through the comptroller's books and collected a great deal of information on the subject. He then wrote to the University of Mississippi saying that some one must come down to Jackson and help him make the necessary calculations. He asked that either Judge Longstreet,[4] the president, or I, myself, should attend. Judge Longstreet seemed very unwilling to go, but requested me to respond to Colonel Thompson's request and I did so. I found that the fund of the university had been from time to time deposited in the Union Bank of Mississippi and strict rules had been enacted for keeping the account. The comptroller had been required to add the interest to the principal from year to year until the university should be actually established. The State had, in fact, accepted the fund as a trust, and the constitution provided that the capital should never be diminished. As a trustee, the State was liable for the whole amount. The fund had risen from two sources; first, for about twelve years the lands forming the endowment had been leased and the rent was paid into the bank to the credit of the fund; then this policy was abandoned and the same lands were exposed for sale, but the sales had been largely made on time, and in the course of time the Union Bank failed very disastrously and the

[4]Further information about Judge Longstreet will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, II 7, 10; V, 284. A sketch of his life will be found in this volume, see *supra*.—EDITOR.

State became liable both for money paid in the bank and for the proceeds of sales that were never paid for. The facts ascertained by Colonel Thompson required elaborate calculation to ascertain the exact liability of the State. When the buildings were erected at Oxford about $200,000 had been expended; allowing for this expenditure, it was found, by severe application of the rules of law, that there remained a balance due to the fund from the State of nearly a million dollars. All these calculations were made by me very laboriously, and I prepared a report setting forth the results with great particularity, which was adopted by the trustees and communicated by them to the governor. The governor at that time was the Hon. John J. McRae. He immediately prepared a special message to the legislature in which was embodied substantially the report which had been sent him by the trustees.

However, before this investigation began, I had resolved to recommend to the trustees to present a memorial to the legislature, asking an increase of funds to the university, not on the ground of legal claim, but as a matter of public policy. I represented that the university was the essential motive power of the entire educational system of the State; that we could not have any secondary or primary schools without teachers, and that the university was necessary to provide for the secondary schools and the secondary necessary for the primary; yet that the university could never thrive unless it were enabled to offer the same advantages which were possessed by similar institutions in other States. And I pointed out the large deficiencies of the university in regard to apparatus and library. And I held that it would be a wise policy to make direct appropriations from the treasury in support of it, as was annually done in the Carolinas and Virginia. I prepared a memorial of this form and this purport, which I carried with me to Jackson and proposed to the trustees to adopt and present to the legislature. They very cordially approved it, and it was forthwith presented and printed. I at the same time requested the legislature for permission to address that body in support of the memorial, and they appointed me an evening session when both houses met in the representatives' hall and I made my personal appeal. The consequence of

all these movements was that the legislature passed an act substantially recognizing the indebtedness of the State to the university fund. In the meantime, however, it was objected that the case as represented by the governor was only an *ex parte* view, and that, before adopting a law to refund the whole amount, there ought to be an inquiry by a legislative commission.

The form of the act, therefore, provided for the submission of the whole case to a well-known and eminent financier of Vicksburg, with instructions to report within five years, and in the meantime the annual sum of $20,000 was appropriated to the improvement of the university, the trustees being required to expend the same to supply the deficiencies which had been pointed out in the memorial and not use the money as a productive endowment. In consequence of this the trustees authorized the purchase of all the fine apparatus, which is now found in the physical department, and provided for the erection of an astronomical observatory, and also a small magnetic observatory, for which the instruments were not completed at the time the war broke out. I was permitted to direct these purchases very largely myself, and I contracted for the great astronomical telescope with Alvan Clarke, of Cambridge, Mass. The telescope had just been completed in June, 1861, but too late to be delivered at the university. It is now at the Dearborn Observatory at Chicago, Ill. It created a sensation in the first month after its completion by the discovery made by it of a companion to the fixed star, Sirius. This discovery was made by Mr. Clarke himself, almost accidentally.

In the summer of 1856 the president of the university, the Hon. A. B. Longstreet, suddenly resigned his office during a meeting of the trustees at commencement. He probably expected the resignation to be declined, but the trustees accepted it very promptly, without proceeding to the immediate appointment of a successor. For this purpose they adjourned to a later meeting to be held in September. I had made my arrangements to go North immediately after commencement and I did so, but in the meantime a very lively canvass went on for the election of a new president. I was not an avowed candidate, and in fact

said nothing on the subject to any of my friends. In September I was in Albany, N. Y., at a meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. While there I received a telegram from Colonel Thompson, containing only the words: "You are president; come home as soon as possible." I returned to Oxford almost immediately and was very cordially welcomed by my colleagues.

The next five years were a very difficult period of my life, the most so of any I have ever known. The state of discipline in the college was very low. Judge Longstreet had pursued a kind of let-alone policy and the young men had fallen into numerous very pernicious practices. I had a great struggle with the spirit of disorder, but I was successful in suppressing it, aided by a very efficient support from some of my colleagues, particularly Professor Lamar, now Associate Justice of the Unied States Supreme Court.[5]

Some incidents of that period would be amusing, if detailed, but I presume you will find alumni living who can supply those. When I say I was supported by some of my colleagues I must make one or two exceptions. Prof. George W. Carter did all he could to embarrass me, having, as I think, a hope of superseding me if he could get me out of the way. Professor Carter's subsequent history was so bad, that his name will suffice to recall his character. Professing to be a devoted friend of Southern rights he put himself at the head of a band of irregular soldiers, first in Texas and afterwards in Arkansas, who degenerated into a miserable gang of jay-hawkers, attacking indiscriminately Federals and Confederates alike, and a terror to the district they were in. Naturally, after the war Carter turned up as a renegade in New Orleans and became a vociferous Republican, securing election to the legislature of Louisiana, and making himself an emissary of the scalawags of the State at Washington. I was told by those who knew him there, that he had become a miserable object to look upon. When in Oxford

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[5]For references to Colonel Lamar, too numerous to give in detail, see "General Index of Volumes I-X in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, X, 540.

he was very popular; but naturally he fell into great disrepute afterwards, especially among the Methodists with whom he had been a great favorite. He possessed great natural ability and was an easy and plausible speaker, preaching constantly in Oxford, always without notes.

In 1861, immediately on the bombardment of Fort Sumter, the young men of the university became greatly excited and eagerly pressed to be received into the army on the first call for volunteers. It happened that on the day on which the ordinance of secession of Mississippi was adopted at Jackson, I took the northern train for Washington in order to fulfill an engagement into which I had entered, to deliver a course of scientific lectures at the Smithsonian Institute. I left the university in a state of great excitement and should not have left it at all but for the nature of my engagement. I was absent about a fortnight, but I found that opinion in the university was not unanimous in favor of secession. On my return I was told that the flag of Mississippi had been flying on one of the dormitories during my absence and on the opposite dormitory a band of loyal students had kept the flag of the United States flying for ten days. At the same time I found that large portion of the students had formed themselves into a military company called "The University Grays," and had demanded of the governor, John J. Pettus, to be mustered into the Confederate service. As none of these young men had consulted their parents, I considered their action premature, and I wrote the governor to request him not to grant their request. Professor Lamar also advised the same way and said that Mr. Davis, President of the Confederate States, disapproved of the volunteering of the younger class of men, comparing it to the grinding of the seed-corn of the republic. But the governor was obstinate and sent a mustering officer to Oxford, who notified the young men to meet him in the village, where I should not have an opportunity to interfere with him. I thereupon issued a circular letter to all the parents of the young men in the university, stating what had occurred and requesting them to authorize me to demand the discharge of their sons from the military on the ground that their enlistment was unauthorized. In a few instances the cir-

culars met with a courteous response; but in more I was informed that the parents entirely approved of their son's action. Some authorized a demand for a discharge on the ground that the boys were too young to be trusted to go into camp without older companions to advise them and declared their intention to withdraw from the "University Grays" only that they might cause them to enlist with local companies at home. I remember one instance of this in a young lad of hardly more than 14 years, the only son of a widow, who was placed in a company in Jackson, I believe, and who unfortunately fell in the first brush in which he was engaged, being unfortunately also shot by accident by a Confederate soldier. I took no other part than this, either in promoting or opposing the movement of secession. I did not sympathize with it, it is true, but I was powerless to oppose it. The whole population seemed, in fact, to have suddenly gone wild, and I considered it my duty to remain silent, but the trustees of the college met at a session held in May, immediately after the attack on Fort Sumter, and I presented to them my resignation. The members of the board, however, with one accord, most earnestly opposed by action and persuaded me to withhold my resignation at least till the opening of the fall session, at which time they expressed the utmost confidence that we would be able to resume operations with our full numbers. They insisted on the extreme improbability of a serious war, and I think that the general opinion of the people was that a peace of some kind would be patched up during the summer. I yielded to these persuasions and awaited the progress of events.

In the meantime the college was necessarily completely dispersed. Many students went to Charleston, some to Pensacola, and the organized company of "Grays" was sent to Virginia, where they participated in the battle of Manassas. Colonel Lamar had, in the meantime, gone to Richmond with a commission of lieutenant-colonel in the army. I remained in Oxford during the summer, with the exception of a week or so, during which I visited Montgomery, Ala., to attend a meeting of the convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church. It was a very dull summer, enlivened only by imperfect accounts of the military operations in different parts of the field, including the battle

of Manassas, won by the Confederates, and the loss of Forts Henry and Donelson in Tennessee, by the successful operations of General Grant. At the opening of the fall session but two or three students presented themselves. The trustees, who met at that time in Oxford, finally concluded to accept my resignation, but requested me to perform for them one final service. The legislature had proposed to the trustees to establish a military school on the foundation of the University, to tide over the war period, and the trustees desired information in regard to the proper organization and plant necessary to carry on a military school. They requested me to visit the military schools of Carolina and Virginia and report to them a scheme for complying with the request of the legislature. In the meantime they proposed to continue to me my salary and necessary expenses of travel, and promised that on my return they would use their influence to obtain for me passports to leave the Confederate States. As they were all men of influence, I relied a good deal on these promises and I accepted the mission. I visited the military school at Columbia, S. C., where I was introduced by Judge Longstreet, who had been elected president of South Carolina College after his retirement from Oxford. After studying the Columbia institution as long as was necessary, I proceeded to Virginia, but I knew that the principal of the Virginia school was in the army and I thought it best to see him before visiting the school. I therefore applied at the war office in Richmond, to learn where Col. Francis Smith, the principal of the military institute, was stationed. I found that he was at Craney Island, Norfolk, and that I could not see him without a passport from Richmond. The officer issued me one, however, without objection, and I immediately proceeded to Norfolk, where I found Colonel Smith had thrown up a beautiful series of fortifications and he volunteered me every information in his power, but told me that to understand the subject I would have to go to Lexington where the school was, and gave me letters to his adjutant at the school and to his wife at home, recommending me to her most hospitable courtesies. I returned and reported myself at Richmond and then took the stage across the country for Lex-

ington, which could not be reached by any railroad. During my journey I passed for the first and only time in my life, the natural bridge in Rockbridge County. I studied the Virginia Institute very carefully and brought away from it abundant material. I pursued by journey still further by stage until I struck the Memphis & Charleston railroad, following which I reached home and immediately proceeded to Jackson where the trustees were then in session. I made my report and took my leave of the body, who paid me a final compliment by conferring on me the degree of doctor of divinity.

Another incident in my Mississippi history is the fact that immediately after my election as president, I addressed a communication in pamphlet form to the trustees, setting forth my view of what should be the future development of the institution. In order to make this pamphlet more effective, I printed it some few months before the annual meeting of the trustees and gave it a general circulation among not only the trustees but the people. The pamphlet attracted a great deal of attention, and contributed materially to interest the public in the university. It had been very common among the politicians to attack the university on the pretext that it was an aristocratic institution. I endeavored to prove it, on the contrary, a benefit to the general public and essentially democratic rather than aristocratic. I believe that the impression was beneficial, and certainly the university became afterward highly popular.

Among the changes which I introduced was the adoption by the board of trustees of a new code of academic statutes or laws. The original code, though drawn up I believe by an able jurist, was faulty in consequence of descending into too great minuteness of detail, like prescribing the hours of classes, the time of ringing the bell for prayers, etc. It also omitted important provisions in regard to discipline. The new code proposed by me in 1857, I think, was founded on a careful examination of the laws of many old colleges and embodied the results of a good deal of experience; but it was resisted very strongly by a portion of the trustees, and finally that body invited the whole faculty to a joint meeting, to discuss the matter. I maintained that many of the provisions of the old code related to

particulars with which the trustees should not meddle, but should leave to the wisdom of the faculties themselves. As many of the trustees were directors of the Mississippi Central railroad, I appealed to the example of railroad managers, who were accustomed, after pointing out the great centers of business which they wished to connect, to leave to the engineers the details of work. I said they would not think of directing how or where to pass every little stream or cut every little ridge; but would say to the engineer, "That is your business." In like manner the trustees of the college should leave details of every-day operations to the men who had to execute them and who, if they were fit for their places, would know best how to do them. The argument had a certain weight, and the new code was finally adopted with merely a show of opposition. It was in this new code that the title of the presiding officer was changed from president to chancellor, a title still, I believe, maintained.

It was not far from the same time that the legislature altered the organization of the board of trustees itself, constituting from that time forward the governor of the State, the chairman *ex officio*. Governor McRae was, I think, the first *ex officio* chairman. After him came Governor McWillie, who by virtue of his office became deeply interested in the university. He was an excellent governor and warmly in favor of all measures for the advancement of educaton. It devolved upon Governor McWillie to fill the office of State geologist, an office which had always been associated with the professorship of chemistry and geology in the university. It was a delicate duty to perform, for the governor was pressed by a large majority of the politicians of the State to appoint a candidate then actually residing in Mississippi. The governor consulted me on the subject, and I recommended to him a gentleman now well known in Mississippi, then connected with a Southern institution, Prof. Eugene W. Hilgard. Professor Hilgard was a very young man and looked younger than he actually was; but he had received the degree of doctor of philosophy at Heidelberg, Baden, and was known by his title of doctor. Perhaps that fact conveyed the idea that he was a man of some age. However, Governor Mc-

Willie appointed him and he came on immediately to Mississippi, calling at Oxford on his way to Jackson, where he presented himself for the first time to the governor. On his return from Jackson he described to me his personal interview with Governor McWillie. The first impression, he said, which he had appeared to produce upon the governor when he announced himself, was one of extreme astonishment, apparently at his youthful look. The governor told me afterward that he had been, in fact, surprised at the appearance of the young geologist, and that it required all his faith in my judgment to reconcile himself to the appointment. Dr Hilgard, however, proved to be a man of so extensive information, and information of a kind which the farmers wanted, that he soon became extremely popular all over the State. In prosecuting the survey he had to visit every county, and soon became extensively acquainted with the people. In the annual agricultural fairs held at Jackson he made a public exhibit of specimens of soil from various plantations, labeled conspicuously with the results of analyses made at the university, and inscribed with the names of the respective owners. This was a very showy stand and attracted much attention. All the people were desirous of an advertisement of that kind. Dr. Hilgard was consulted as to the management of farms by a great many citizens, and soon became a high authority. He continued in connection with the university till several years after the conclusion of the war, when he was appointed to the University of Michigan, and subsequently to the University of California, with which he is still connected.

I think you will find printed among the State papers at Jackson, copies of the documents to which I have referred, concerning legislation for the benefit of the university, among them the memorial of 1855 and the governor's message of the same session on the subject of the seminary fund.[6]

I send you at this time a copy of my pamphlet letter to the trustees which I have mentioned in this communication and

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[6]See Hilgard's "Historical Outline of the Geological and Agricultural Survey of the State of Mississippi" in ibid., III, 207-234; also extracts from Dr. Hilgard's letters in this volume.

which I think was printed in 1858. There will probably be found in Oxford also a pamphlet report of the proceedings of the board of trustees of an investigation into certain charges instigated by Professor Carter against me in 1859-60; the gravamen of which was the imputation that I listened to the evidence of negroes against delinquent students. The report was taken down phonographically by Prof. W. F. Stearnes, law professor of the university, who was the only competent phonographer in Oxford. The results of the investigation as given in the pamphlet will be found to be embodied in two resolutions, the first of which pronounced all the charges to be baseless and false; and the second went on further to declare that in the opinion of the trustees the chancellor was the right man in the right place, and they proposed to keep him there. Professor Carter was removed from office and his principal backer in the faculty, my own former friend Richardson, shared the same fate.

The above narrative embraces the most important facts of history at the University of Mississippi. I cannot refrain from adding that on the day on which my resignation was finally accepted, in September, 1861, Governor McRae, chairman of the board, drove me in his carriage to Oxford from the university, and on the way, after expressing his regret at my retirement, he remarked to me, "I shall always have one source of satisfaction in the recollection that I have voted for every measure which you have ever recommended."

I have met very few of the alumni since the restoration of intercourse between the North and South, but during the war I had communicated with some of our young men who were confined as prisoners of war in some of our Northern prisons, and had the satisfaction of occasionally contributing in some measure to their comfort. Of my former colleagues I remember to have met only Professor Lamar, with whom I have occasionally exchanged very pleasantly old reminiscences. I have met, however, a number of Southern men previously known to me, for whom I contracted a high esteem. Among them is Gen. Roger A. Pryor, now of New York, and ex-Vice-President Alexander H. Stephens. I saw a great deal of Mr. Stephens in the two or three years preceding his death.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF JUDGE A. B. LONGSTREET AND DR. F. A. P. BARNARD.

By John W. Johnson.[1]

I.

Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, second president of the University of Mississippi, generally called by his friends Judge Longstreet, was born in Augusta, Ga., September 22, 1790. His father, William Longstreet, was of Dutch extraction, and the former spelling of the family name was *Langestraat*. This fam-

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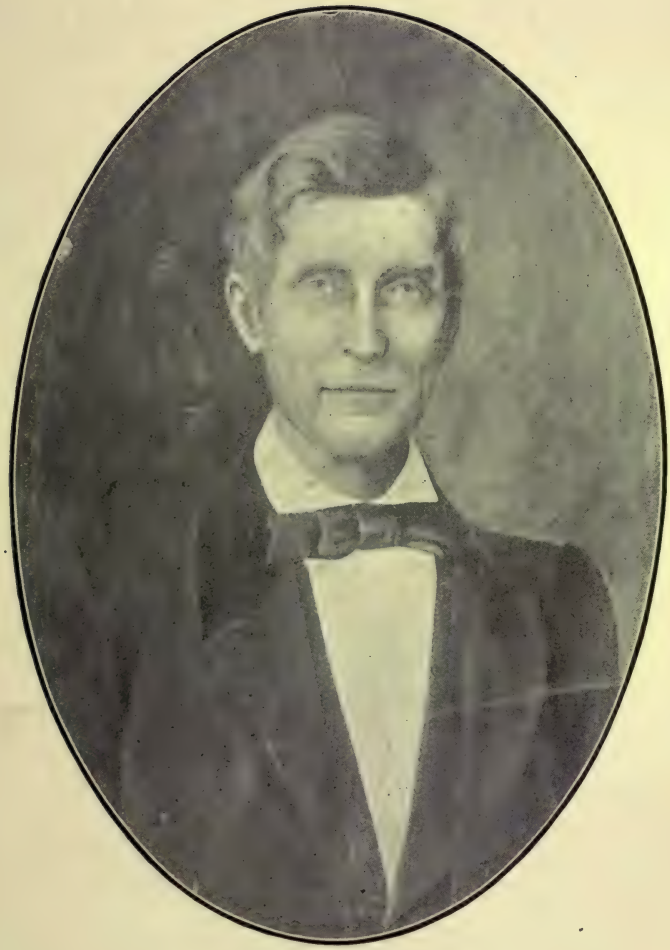
[1]These interesting sketches were contributed to *The University of Mississippi Magazine* in 1896. Having originally appeared before the Mississippi Historical Society began to issue its *Publications,* they are reproduced in this volume because of their historical value and the ephemeral nature of their former publication.

The following sketch of Dr. Johnson is taken from the minutes of the faculty of the University of Mississippi, of Sept. 25, 1911:

"Dr. John Wesley Johnson was born near Pontotoc, Pontotoc county, April 5, 1852, and died in Chicago August 29, 1911. From the public schools near his home he entered the University and was graduated with the A. B. degree in 1876, and received the A. M. degree in 1879. From 1876 to 1881 he was assistant in Latin and Mathematics at the University. From 1881 to 1886 he was principal of the Johnson Institute at Booneville, Miss., and from 1886 to 1890 he was principal of the preparatory department of the University. In 1890 to 1892 he was a student at Leipsig, Germany, receiving his doctor's degree in 1892. During the session of 1892-93 he was assistant professor of physics in this [Mississippi] university. From 1893 to 1899 he was associate professor of physics and astronomy. From 1899 to 1906 he was professor of physics, and from the latter date to 1911 he was professor of physics and astronomy.

"His death terminates a long period of service rendered to the university. He wrought faithfully and effectively and loyally. For a long time he has had much to do with the collection and management of the loan fund of the Alumni Association and to him is largely due the benefits that have arisen from that fund.

"The distinguishing traits of Dr. Johnson's character were a peculiar and refreshing type of childlikeness of mental attitude, unshakable faith in God and his fellow man, an entire freedom from envy and malice, an original and rather whimsical way of looking at common things, a keen sense of humor, a love of flowers, birds, and children, loyalty in every relation and 'sweet reasonableness' in all things."



JUDGE A. B. LONGSTREET

ily emigrated from Holland in 1657, locating upon Long Island, where they soon became widely known as thrifty, energetic and reputable people. His mother was Hannah Randolph, a descendant of the Normans, who, after leaving the old country, found homes in the new world in 1607. The parents of the subject of this sketch had drifted to the sunny South, and were living in Augusta, Ga., when the boy was placed in his first school. This school, called the Richmond Academy, he characterized as his *"hated penitentiary,"* from which we may infer the boy's profound contempt for the institution and its methods. The following statement, made long afterwards, concerning this period are suggestive:

"I was considered by my preceptors a dunce in several of my academic studies, and treated accordingly. I could not teach myself these studies without the help of my teachers so-called, and I could not help myself because I did not understand the language in which the book-rules were given, and of course could not understand the rules themselves."[2]

He soon entered the Edgefield School of South Carolina, where he had better success, spending there, he says, "two or three happy years." He enjoyed the freedom of the country and boldly developed his ambition, as he himself expresses it, "to outrun, outjump, outshoot, or throw down any man in the district."

On returning home to Augusta, Ga., and re-entering the Richmond Academy, he formed the acquaintance of George McDuffie, who became a noted secession congressman and governor of South Carolina. The two boys soon became intimate boy friends, the attachment growing stronger and stronger with the lapse of time. Both were vivacious, fun-loving boys; both disliked Richmond Academy, but loved books; both had a reverence for parental authority and knew they must remain and improve their time; both had ambition to excel, but desired to pursue a course different from ordinary school routine. Judge Longstreet refers to this pleasant association as follows:

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[2]Bishop O. P. Fitzgerald's *Life Sketch of Judge Longstreet.* To this excellent little book of 200 pages, I am indebted for most of my information for this sketch.

"Chance threw me under the same roof, and choice into the same bed with George McDuffie. He devoured with greediness every book and newspaper that he could lay his hands on. As he could read these only at night, and as I could not separate myself from him in his leisure hours, as he seemed to regard it as a privilege and relish to have a boon companion to imbibe knowledge with him, and as he seemed to think, and perhaps did think, that I was as greedy of learning as he was, he always read aloud. This, to me, was at first irksome, then tolerable, then delightful. Thus I acquired my first taste for reading which was of incalculable benefit to me. But I derived a still greater benefit from my constant intercourse with this bright youth. I observed that when we read the same books and papers he always knew twice as much of their contents as I did. I determined to match him if possible, and I commenced reading with care, and, in a measure, studying what I read. Thus I learned the only kind of reading which is of much value."

We notice the frank generosity with which he ascribes superiority to his friend McDuffie, and in this we recognize his own noble character and unselfish nature. It chanced that for preparation for college he and McDuffie were sent to the same training school, that of the celebrated Dr. Moses Waddel, at Wilmington, S. C. Here the master had the peculiar tact of inspiring young men, especially those of talent, with an ambitious love for the classics, as well as a profound admiration for the sciences. Heretofore the classics had been distasteful to him but, now "so far from it," he says, "when studying the classics under the shade of the beautiful beeches which grew near the woodland seat of science, I actually felt a touch of the inspiration with which Virgil opens his deathless song." Here the two young friends entered upon a three years' course of generous and spirited rivalry, not only in class standing but also in their debating society, where both took a thrilling and competitive interest. In order to maintain oratorical equilibrium in the society, they were usually placed on opposite sides in debate; an arrangement that suited the two friends exactly, for they always studied their speeches carefully, each submitting his arguments to the other for criticism and suggestions.

He says of these debates:

"It was a rule of the society that every member should speak upon the subjects chosen for discussion, or pay a fine; and as all the members valued the little stock of change with which they were furnished more

than they did their reputation for oratory, not a fine had been imposed for a breach of this rule from the organization of the society."[8]

His preparation under Dr. Waddel was so thorough and of such high grade that he easily entered the junior class at Yale in 1811. Of this interesting period he writes:

"The two years that I passed at college were among the happiest of my life. No graduate of Yale ever left her halls with a warmer love for every member of her faculty than I had, or a tenderer regard for the people of New Haven. If parting tears never dried up, and he who sheds them could always recognize them, I could point to many witnesses of this truth. The first gush of them was in that same North Church, while listening to the address of the valedictorian of my class. The highest transport that I ever felt from vocal music was in this church. I loved all the professors of Yale, but the one I admired most of all was Benjamin Silliman. He is the only one with whom I ever interchanged a letter."

After graduating in 1813 he entered at once the famous law school of Reeve and Gould, at Litchfield, Conn. Returning to his beloved State of Georgia, he was admitted to the bar in 1815, with brilliant prospects of success. He mentioned in old age, with mingled pride and humor, that he was elected "Captain of the Three Hundred and Ninety-eighth District Company of Georgia Militia." He was recognized as a well equipped young lawyer, and soon won reputation as an orator. Dr. Waddel said of him:

"He soon rose to the highest rank, and stood among the foremost of a profession in which his compeers were such men as Berrien, Cobb.

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[8] *Longstreet's Georgia Scenes,* 134 et seq. In this article, on the Debating Society, Longstreet calls himself Longworth, and McDuffie is M'Dermot. This ludicrous *Scene* was the result of a joke perpetrated by the two friends upon their debating society. By taking, with assumed gravity and earnestness, the lead in debate on opposite sides, they succeeded in bringing before their society for discussion the following nonsense: "WHETHER, AT PUBLIC ELECTIONS, SHOULD THE VOTES OF FACTION PREDOMINATE BY INTERNAL SUGGESTIONS OR THE BIAS OF JURISPRUDENCE." How effectually they perpetrated the joke; with what a deluge of words and dearth of ideas, they overwhelmed the society; how high expectation was raised and never satisfied; how near, upon detection, the the two arch-conspirators came to being arraigned for contempt and false pretenses; how they all broke up in good humor and hearty laughing, is told, in this inimitable sketch, with side-shaking humor and graphic vividness from beginning to end.

Dawson, and many others of abilities equally splendid. He rapidly achieved such fame, and won for himself such reputation as a finished and eloquent orator, that he could always command as large an audience as any in the State, and, perhaps, larger than could any other man.[4]

I quote also from what is likely the best authority obtainable, a pen picture, which applies not only to this period but to all his life:

"Judge Longstreet's figure was tall and spare, his carriage easy and quietly graceful. He had a fair complexion, with brown hair and blue eyes; mouth rather large and very flexible, with strong and perfect teeth, which never decayed, but were worn down by age. Abounding in physical vitality, in his younger days he was fond of athletic sports and exercises. With a pleasant and winning address, he was courteous and regardful of the feelings and rights of others. He had the power to draw friends strongly and to hold them firmly. He was a modest man, yet possessed a high sense of personal dignity, was sensitive to affront, and prompt to resent it; under all circumstances self-possessed; by no means quarrelsome, yet he was combative. His piety was deep and ever present. An enthusiastic Methodist, and devoted to all special interests of that denomination, he neither believed in any repression of individual opinions or compulsory conformity to arbitrary rules, nor entertained any narrow jealousies of other sects of Christians; he was thoroughly catholic. As a writer, his style was fluent, limpid, precise, idiomatic and fascinating; he was a ready and attractive speaker, but was not a pulpit orator, since he studiously avoided in his sermons anything which might savor of intellectual pride, rather than of the humility becoming to a minister of the gospel. His friends thought him overscrupulous in this respect.

"He was very energetic and industrious. When over seventy-five years of age, in order that he might write an article on Biblical translation, he undertook a study of the Hebrew, and made some advancement in that difficult tongue. As a lawyer he was acute, learned, sympathetic and generous. The best work of his life was done, however, as an educator, in which calling he displayed to greatest advantage all of his varied qualities and accomplishments, including a true pedagogical instinct and an unusual capacity for organization and administration; while his learning without pedantry and his unquestionable genius gave him a strong hold upon the fancy of his pupils. He was gifted with both a ready and sparkling wit and a shrewd and rollicking humor, both of which were kindly, true, spontaneous, and apparently inexhaustible; while also he was an accomplished mimic. The rendition of one of his own *Scenes* by himself was a thing not soon to be forgotten by any who heard it.

"Finally he was shrewd, systematic, and orderly in business; very thrifty yet always capable of generous expenditures and large charities. No man was ever a kinder or more indulgent husband and father, or a kindlier counsellor to any who were in trouble."[5]

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[4]Chancellor Waddel's "Historical Discourse," 18, delivered at the University of Mississippi, during Commencement, 1873.

[5]Mayes' *Life, Times and Speeches of L. Q. C. Lamar*, 39. This book is not only a most instructive biography of one of Mississippi's noblest sons, but a literary production of the highest order of excellence. It

On the 3d day of March, 1817, he was married to Miss Francis Eliza Parke, of Greensborough, Ga., a daughter of Emsley Parke and Mary Hawkins, who had just graduated at Warrenton, Ga. She was then eighteen years of age, beautiful in appearance, charming in manners, and an heir to a large estate, consisting in part of some forty or fifty negroes. Of the loveliness of this woman he bears most unqualified testimony as follows:

"She was taken from me after we had lived together in happy union fifty years, seven months and ten days from the date of our marriage, 3d of March, 1817. In all that time I do not believe that she ever uttered one word or did one thing to wound my feelings."[6]

Surely a husband never paid a higher tribute to a wife. Her excellence, however, was noted by all with whom she came in contact. Bishop Fitzgerald quotes Dr. T. J. Wightman, pastor of the M. E. Church, Washington City, as saying:

"Between President Longstreet and his lovely wife there was a striking contrast. He was tall, bent, scarred, an oak among men; she was small, graceful, with a sweet face, a flower. The flower had climbed to the summit of the oak and there rested as a crown of beauty, shedding over the rugged form, and inspiring with fresh life, every outstretched arm of that giant intellect. She had intwined herself into all his labors, and it would be a question which influenced the college boys more, the President or his charming lady. Her power was not seen but felt. Her husband could not have attained the same greatness had he not possessed a better Eve, capable of guiding, and of influencing his profound thoughts.

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possesses an inspiration which makes one feel better and nobler for having read it, and proud to be a fellow-citizen with such characters as the illustrious subject of the biography and its ingenious author. The fervent loyalty of the son-in-law to his father-in-law reminds one of the filial love of Tacitus for Agricola; in both there is evidently an honest and clever effort to portray truth; in both, the author forgets self under the inspiration of the theme; in both, the readers see images which becomes so real that they feel the magic power of a great spirit from which they are unwilling to be separated; in both, the history of the times stands out in bold relief, so that the history and the biography are blended as the logical complements of each other. To the student of vigorous yet musical English the book will be a helpful guide; to the student of biography and history it will mount up to the high ideal; to the many admirers of the illustrious Lamar, it will be a precious solace in life, and be handed down as a proud legacy to their offspring.

[6]Fitzgerald's *Life Sketch of Judge Longstreet,* 45. This quotation is from a private letter written from Oxford, Mississippi, March 6, 1870.

He was keenly alive to passing influences, and his nature was susceptible of vivid impressions. On that nature she impressed the convictions of her own mind. His large and dependent heart gladly responded to the thoughts so pure and lovely, and made him share with her the responsibilities of his high position. She nobly accepted the loving charge, and linked herself in loving sympathy to her husband's loftiest aspirations for a higher life, and breathed into them the inspiration that comes only from a pious heart.

"There was a charm about her home. The table smiled. The quiet atmosphere was redolent of love. The lady was a queen in manners. Nothing was commanded, yet every one owned the supremacy of a subtle power. The servants caught the spirit. Even the President was glad to acknowledge himself the loyal subject of an accomplish wife, who dutifully studied every responsibility of his life.

"There flowed in her conversation a rythm of delight. She was familiar with the English classics; Milton, Shakespeare, Longfellow, Keats were her companions. She had put them in her memory, and the sublime passages of these masters of poetry rolled from her bewitching tongue in colloquial eloquence. Her charity was large. Her faith was simple. She was a Methodist woman. Her Bible was marked with devotion; and could the walls of her chamber repeat the burden of her prayers they would become witnesses of her fidelity to God. Here was the secret of her power. She lived with God; she loved Him; all was His."

The following tribute is from the gifted pen of her devoted son-in-law, Justice L. Q. C. Lamar:

"Mrs. Longstreet was the mother of my wife, and she was in love, tenderness and goodness, *my* mother. It is, therefore, hardly possible for me either to think or speak of her as if in the perspective. She was a true type of a true Southern woman; and when I say that, I mean she embodied that indescribable charm, that spirit of love, that subtle influence of refinement, that piety and culture of character, which rarely failed to be wrought into the nature of a woman reared under a Southern roof, with its sacred environments and clustering joys.

"To an eye not accustomed to analyze the indications of female character, she might appear too reserved, and even retiring, to possess those qualities that make up a heroine in the conflicts of life. But her modesty, which, like a sensitive plant, shrank from rude familiarities, was sustained by a courage which never shrank from hardship, trial, and self-denial. The war did not subdue her spirit. She came from its desolations undismayed by the poverty which it entailed upon herself and the dear ones of her own family. She visited the homes of the poor, and turned her own into a hospital, and did not hestitate to bathe her gentle hand in blood that she might bind the wounds of the dying."

Such a wife naturally became the guiding star of her husband's life and the true impulse of his lofty ambition. In 1821 he was elected to the Georgia legislature; on the 8th of November, 1822, he was commissioned judge of the Ocmulgee Circuit. These honors were appreciated, of course, because of the kind motives of his friends, but they could be accepted only at a

financial sacrifice, as his private practice as a lawyer was worth a great deal more. Notwithstanding his absorbing business and official engagements he found time for literary work, and began his influential contributions to the secular papers, in which he discussed the political issues of the day. At about this time also he began his humorous sketches, now so widely known as the *Georgia Scenes.*

In 1824 his friends brought him out as a candidate for Congress. At first he consented, but owing to the death of his two children and also of his mother-in-law, he finally declined to run. He says:

"I was running for Congress with the certainty of election when our afflictions came upon us. They clipped the wings of my worldly ambition forever, and turned my thoughts heavenward. I took down my name from Congress and wife and I became seekers and professors of religion."

Prior to this time he had been indifferent about religious matters, but after his profession he was ever frank and even aggressive in advocating the tenets of his faith.

Some years after his conversion, Mr. Longstreet felt it his duty to preach the gospel, and, without remonstrance with his conscience, he entered zealously the service of his Master in the church of his choice—the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. His own testimony, quoted from a private letter, shows many interesting traits at the time:

"The first year of my ministry (1839) the yellow fever made its appearance in Augusta, and my home was soon filled with fugitives from the city, who boarded me out of everything I had to eat, so that I had nothing to sell at the end of the year but my dwelling and land. These I disposed of at their full value. I was now foot-loose for the Methodist itinerancy. While administering to the sick, the dying and the dead for five dreary months, expecting every day to become a victim to the disease. O, how my soul rejoiced as it found me serving God instead of serving clients!"

His practice in public speaking at the bar and on the bench gave him great self-possession, ease and grace in the pulpit. Rev. W. R. Branham says of him:

"In the pulpit he mingled the logic, cultivated by his long practice at the bar, with his ever-present tenderest pathos and wealth of knowledge of men with fine effect. Although calm in manner and gently persuasive

in style, he was not unsuccessful as a revivalist. He sang well and was given to a solo when he concluded an exhortation, or as a preacher just before announcing his text. I remember with what effect he used to sing 'All is Well,' or 'Prepare to Meet Thy God,' (the music his own composition)."

Dr. J. T. Wightman says:

"President Longstreet could not be ranked with pulpit orators, for he studiously avoided all displays of that kind; nor was he metaphysical in the pulpit, but was closely logical, and always presented a correct exposition of the truth, enforced it with sound, practical lessons, and sometimes with a quaint point that fixed it in the mind."

His church, appreciating his varied talents and impressive character, and desiring to utilize both, offered him the presidency of Emory College in 1840. This he accepted and the 10th of February of that year, was set apart for his formal inaugural address. He gratified his friends in this address by his advocacy of manual labor in connection with college education, using as his theme: "Exercise of Head, Heart and Hand—one and Inseparable." He appealed to the young men:

"To resolve unchangeably that you will not defame the institution by those youthful follies which are vulgarly denominated the tricks of college boys. College *boys* sound to my ear like veteran *babes,* the 'tricks of college boys' like the 'follies of profound wisdom.' College is not the place for boys, nor are collegians the characters for tricks, and yet it must be confessed that there are some in all colleges who fulfill this paradoxical description; and so doing, they spread more pestilence among their companions, interrupt the harmony that would naturally subsist between preceptor and pupil, and sully their own fame, perhaps forever."

His own comments, many years afterward, on this period of his life, are interesting:

"At the close of the year (1839) I was placed at the head of Emory College, a recently established Methodist institution in the recently laid out Methodist village of Oxford, Georgia. The fees of my practice at the bar amounted to about $13,000. These with the proceeds of the sales of my property, enabled me to save it from death, at least to relieve its death agonies, and to do great good otherwise. The college prospered under my supervision, and in the course of a few years became the rival of the State University in reputation and patronage."

Here he remained nine years, his reputation increasing constantly, so that other institutions were becoming anxious for his services. We quote again from his private letter:

"In the spring of 1848, I received letters from two of the trustees of the University of Mississippi, desiring to know if I would accept the presidency of that institution if elected, giving me strong assurance of my appointment. I was immediately impressed with the opinion that I could serve God and my country better at the head of a State institution than at the head of a sectarian institution. I submitted the matter to Bishop Andrew, with these words: 'I am inclined to think I ought to accept this appointment. Emory is now upon a firm basis. There are fifteen preachers within sound of the college bell, and therefore I am not needed here either as a preacher or a teacher. Take a little time to consider the matter, and give me the light of your counsel upon it.' 'I don't want a moment's time to reflect upon it,' said he, 'you ought to go,' and gave his reasons. I immediately signified to the trustee my readiness to accept. As soon as our commencement exercises of 1848 were over I resigned. My successor was appointed, and I was a gentleman at large, free to choose the mode of life that might seem to be most agreeable to me. I entered the itinerancy without a circuit, and worked where I was most needed. My labors were greatly blessed, and of course so was I. Thus employed the report of the Mississippi election found me. Through the influence and eloquence of a Catholic member of the Board, who protested against ever putting a clergyman of any denomination at the head of the college, I was beaten by one vote. I was so happy in my new vocation, which could not be changed for a month to come, that I rather rejoiced than repined at my defeat. The news of it had hardly had time to reach Louisiana before I received the news that I had been unanimously elected by the trustees of Centenary College, president of that institution. I accepted the appointment and entered upon my duties in February or March, 1849, and right from the close of the five happiest months of my life began the five most tormenting. How they came to be so, no matter. I presided at one commencement in July and resigned. While packing to return to Georgia, I was informed that I had been unanimously elected president of the University of Mississippi. I accepted, and took my place in September, 1849."

On the day following his election, July 12, 1849, we see recorded in the minutes that the secretary should "notify forthwith the Rev. A. B. Longstreet of his unanimous election to the presidency of this university and urge upon him the acceptance of the same."

It may be interesting to note some of the regulations of the university at that early date, and the duties devolving upon the new president. We quote from the minutes of the board, page 115:

"SEC. 1. There shall be but one session in each year, which shall consist of ten months, beginning on the second Thursday of September, and ending the Thursday after the second Monday in July following.

SEC. 2. The regular exercises of each day shall begin at sunrise with prayer. All students resident in the college are required to be present; the roll shall be called and absentees noted.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

SEC. 4. The hours of study shall be from prayers till breakfast; from 8

o'clock till 12 M., and from 3 till 6 o'clock from the 20th of March to 20th of September, and from 9 till 12 M., and from 2 to 5 P. M., from 20th September to 20th March. The exercises of each day shall be closed with prayer by the president. The residue of the day shall be allowed the students for recreation and supper. At early candle light the bell shall be rung and each student shall be required to repair to his room and occupy himself diligently in studies until 9 o'clock.

* * * * * * * * *

SEC. 11. Composition and declamation shall be frequently and carefully attended to in every class in the University. Two students taken in alphabetical order shall be required to declaim daily in the presence of the Faculty after evening prayer. If the Faculty deem it expedient the senior class may be excused from this exercise and in lieu thereof they may require them to deliver pieces of their own composition in public."

As to the president's duties in the lecture room we note in the minutes of the board for July 10, 1850, the following:

"The course of studies in the President's department shall be for the Sophomore year, Rhetoric; Junior year, Moral Philosophy, Logic and Evidences of Christianity; Senior year, Mental Philosophy and Political Economy."

January 11, 1854, the following was adopted:

"*Resolved*, That if any member of the faculty shall absent himself from the duties of his chair in the University, unless from actual sickness, it shall be the duty of the treasurer to deduct from his salary ten dollars per diem for such absence, and that such member so absenting himself, shall report the number of days he may have been absent to the treasurer before his accounts are paid."

In accordance with this the following entry was made July 8, 1855:

"President Longstreet, Professors Stearns and Barnard each made a report through the Proctor, of absences from college duties during the last session, with the reasons for each absence, which were deemed satisfactory to the Board, and, on motion, they were excused."

President Longstreet had a keen sense of honor and dignity, and of the obligation of a public trust. He believed a man should do right for right's sake, and not because he is watched and held to account for every little detail in his personal conduct. He, therefore, made special mention in his annual report to the board of this law requiring members of the faculty to report every absence and the reason therefor. He protested against it as not being in harmony with the true relation of the board to the faculty. This was received with scruples and misgivings,

and prolonged discussion followed. But finally, on July 11, 1855, it was agreed to abrogate the law, the board disclaiming "all intention of having designed by the law to irritate or offend the faculty or any member of that body; or to detract from the respect due to their several offices."

A spirit of malicious mischief and unscrupulous deception was rife among the students; and these traits were, of all, most irritating to the President's refined nature. Bad conduct had been so prevalent that he wished, if possible, to inaugurate an era of better feeling, better work and better discipline. So that when ninety-one students, on the 15th of October, 1851, petitioned to be allowed the privilege of hearing Judge Sharkey and General Freeman speak, the request was granted, although such indulgence was unprecedented, and the President was determined to hold a steady hand on the reins of government. At the next meeting of the faculty, however, they had to demerit two boys for fighting, and later to expel two for intoxication and breaking windows in town.

In April, however, an offense was committed which was destined to involve the faculty, trustees and students in trouble not soon to be pacified and perhaps never forgotten. Col. James Brown, a member of the board and superintendent of work on the chapel then going on, chanced one night to put his saddle-horse in the stall of President Longstreet, and himself remained for the night with the President, in order to discuss at length the best means of improving the university, especially in the way of beautifying the grounds and increasing the buildings. The intimacy of the two friends was close and confiding, both zealous in the same worthy cause. Alas! that thoughtless youth should intervene to bar such friendship and impede such noble work! In the night some students entered the stable and cut off the horse's mane and tail. Colonel Brown was a man of wealth and influence, had done a great deal for the university, had received and entertained students cordially around his own sumptuous board, and had admitted some of them to the society of his beautiful and accomplished daughters. Then, to be treated in such a way, was, in his estimation, simply beyond endurance or pardon.

* * * * * * * * *

The turbulence of the students and the heavy duties of Judge Longstreet's office might have been borne longer; but when he saw trouble brewing among certain members of the faculty of such a nature as to involve every member of that body on one side or the other, it was too much for his pacific nature and advancing years. Not wishing to take part on either side, he deliberately made up his mind to resign, and accordingly tendered his resignation on July 10, 1856. We quote from the minutes as follows:

"In pursuance of a resolution of the board at the last regular meeting, President Longstreet communicated a report proposing amendments to the rules and regulations for the government of the University, which report contained his resignation as President thereof. Said report and resignation were read, and on motion laid on the table for the present."

On July 14, 1856, on motion of Mr. Thompson, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved unanimously,* That it is the wish of the board that Dr. A. B. Longstreet should withdraw his resignation and continue to act as the President of the University of Mississippi.

"*Resolved,* That a committee of three be appointed to wait on Dr. Longstreet and acquaint him with the wishes of the board, and ask his compliance with the same. Mr. Thompson, Mr. Young and Mr. Davis were appointed said committee.

On July 15, 1856, the degree of D. D. was unanimously conferred on President A. B. Longstreet. On July 17, 1856, it was resolved, that the board have received with extreme regret the communication of President Longstreet containing his resignation as presiding officer of the university, and the resignation is received by the board only because they are assured it would be unavailing to urge its withdrawal.

"The Board avails themselves of the occasion to express their cordial approbation of the official career of President Lonstreet, a career which commenced with the infancy of the University and which now terminates when the institution has ripened into an early maturity of character and prosperity that challenges a comparison with the most favored literary institutions of the country, and to the energy, efficiency and ability of the President, to his hold upon the respect and affection of the students, and to the confidence so worthily reposed in him by the public, this rapid and eminent success of the University is in a very large measure attributed. The Board accepts the resignation of President Longstreet with the great-

est reluctance, and tender to him the assurance of their very high regard and their earnest wishes for his future welfare. Unanimously adopted."

In 1857 he was prevailed upon to accept the presidency of the University of South Carolina. He continued in this position until the students volunteered, almost in a body, in the service of the Confederate States army. After the war he returned to Oxford where he remained until his death. His grave is in the Oxford cemetery near the west entrance, marked by a noble shaft of marble, on which is this inscription:—

"SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF

"AUGUSTUS BALDWIN LONGSTREET,

"Who was born in Augusta, Georgia, on the day the sun crossed the line, A. D. 1790.

"He sleeps by the side of his wife, of whom he never thought himself worthy, and who never thought herself worthy of her husband. In every innocent movement of his life she went hand in hand, and heart in heart, with him for over fifty-one years. Death was a kind visitor to them both."

The above epitaph was written by his own hand, a short time before his death, July 10, 1870.

He leaves behind him a memory as beloved as it is honored.

His reputation as a writer has already been indirectly referred to. He wrote on a variety of subjects, political, judicial, civil and religious, and always with a pungent effect peculiarly his own. His principal writings are *Letters from Georgia to Massachusetts, Letters to the Clergymen of the Northern Methodist Churches, A Review of the Decision of the Supreme Court in the Case of McCulloch vs. the State of Maryland, Georgia Scenes, Master William Mitten, or The Youth of Brilliant Talents Who Was Ruined by Bad Luck.* His contributions to the secular press also on current topics were frequent and always influential.

II.

Frederick Augustus Porter Barnard was born May 5, 1809, in Sheffield, Berkshire County, Massachusetts. His father was Robert Foster Barnard, attorney-at-law and state senator, a lineal descendant of Francis Barnard, of Coventry, Warwickshire, England, who landed in America in 1636, locating in Hadley, Mass. His mother was Miss Augusta Porter, descended in the eighth generation from John Porter, of Warwickshire, who landed at Massachusetts Bay in 1626. This family name, Porter, had its origin in the fact that in the sixteenth generation preceding, one of its ancestors was *Grande Porteur* to Henry I (1120-1140), from which circumstance he received the name, Porter, afterwards proudly adopted by his descendants. His mother, a woman of rare culture and intelligence, took upon herself his early training. She taught him to read, and to read well. Long afterwards Dr. Barnard tenderly acknowledges his obligations to his mother's training when he said:

> "I acquired the ability to read from the same source from which I derived almost everything else in me that is good (if there is any such thing), from my mother's careful teaching."

He loved his mother, but did not love school or teachers. The only thing he really enjoyed from them was their saying, "The boys may go out to play." At home, however, he learned rapidly, and around his mother's knees he was soon familiar with the *Mother Goose Rhymes, Robinson Crusoe,* and liberal portions of *Pilgrim's Progress;* also the writings of Cowper, Burns, Goldsmith, Addison, Burke, Byron, etc. His father also put Shakespeare into his hands before he was six, trying to impress upon his little son some ideas of poetic imagery and lofty expression. To secure more system and regularity, however, in teaching him Latin, the parents decided to employ for him a private tutor, and, fortunately enough, it proved, they employed Senator Barnard's law clerk for the responsible position. The tutor had difficulty for a year or two, but by patience and kindness, together with frequent holidays and excursions, and a liberal grant of time to play, he succeeded in teaching him some of the rudiments of Latin. In

writing of this period later he states that he had the Latin grammar committed to memory, "from beginning to end, rules and exceptions, etymology, syntax and prosody, word for word, by heart." Despite the hard study, his restive nature and inventive genius found much time for play and boyish achievements. His mechanical propensity found great satisfaction in the production of a variety of cross-bows, kites, trip-hammers, water-wheels, wind-mills, puzzles, games, etc.

At the age of nine he entered the academy at Saratoga Springs in charge of Abija Blanchard. Here he remained three years, boarding with his maternal grandfather, who allowed him the highly appreciated favor of spending some time each day in the printing office of the *Saratoga Sentinel.* He soon developed into a first rate amateur printer. Professor Blanchard explained to him the meaning and application of his already acquired Latin rules, paradigms, etc., as he had never before realized. When he felt that he could utilize all that grammatical machinery in discovering the beauties of classic literature, he became interested in translating Latin expressions, specially enjoying the tragic exploits of Cæsar, the fictitious heroes of Virgil and the lofty eloquence of Cicero. The Greek also he began in this school, and in it, too, he achieved like success.

He next went to Stockbridge Academy in charge of Major Jared Curtis, pursuing further his classics and adding the natural sciences. He took sober and intelligent interest in mathematics and physics.

At fifteen he was ready for Yale, where he entered in 1824, easily winning his way to the head of his class in mathematics and the exact sciences. In 1828 he graduated second in his class, and began at once to teach in the Hartford Grammar School. He continued to study as he taught, and his testimony afterwards was that he learned more during his two years' stay in the Hartford schools than in any other two years of his life. Here he met the poet Whittier, then editor of the *Hartford Review,* who took great interest in him, and encouraged him to write for the Review. To this the young teacher agreed, and thus began his contributions to literary journals, which he kept

up through life. His writings, however, were not confined to periodicals. Here he wrote *The School Arithmetic,* which was approved and adopted by the authorities of Yale as one of their text-books required for admission. Next year he published a treatise on Conic Sections, which was adopted as a college text-book, not only by Yale, but by most of the other colleges of the country. He was next elected tutor in his alma mater and entered boldly upon what was conceded by all to be for him a brilliant career. His hearing, however, having been impaired by a spell of sickness, and knowing that deafness was hereditary in his family, he became despondent, and concluded that it was best for him to prepare for what might become his melancholy fate—a deaf-mute. Accordingly he resigned his position in Yale at the end of the first year and entered at once, both as teacher and pupil at the Hartford Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb. After a year's service he was transferred to a similar institution, with a better salary, in New York State. Here he remained five years, rendering valuable service, and contributing many articles to the *North American Review* and other periodicals on various phases of instruction for the deaf and dumb. Here he published also an *Analytical Grammar with Symbolic Illustrations.*

He studied theology one year with a view to becoming an Episcopal priest, hoping, too, that some opportunity might offer by which he might locate in the South, where a genial climate might have good effect on his impaired hearing. In 1837 he was offered the chair of mathematics and natural philosophy in the University of Alabama. This opened for him the very field, which, of all, he delighted most to cultivate. So he deferred his Episcopal orders for the time, accepted the chair and entered upon its duties with zeal and enthusiasm commensurate with his splendid abilities and unlimited resources. He not only instructed his own classes, but opened his rooms freely to the young ladies that were attending the Female Institute in Tuscaloosa, edited two newspapers, superintended the building of an observatory, and surveyed and settled the disputed boundary line between Florida and Alabama.

In 1849 he was married to Miss Margaret McMurray of Ohio; of whose helpfulness he writes:

"To the encouragement derived from her good sense, energy and sanguine temperament, I am largely indebted for whatever success may have attended me in life."

The account of his transfer from Alabama to Mississippi is best given in his own words, which will be found elsewhere.[7]

Chancellor Barnard was, beyond all question, a man of superior abilities, natural and acquired. Being a Northern man by birth and sympathy, he had, of course, at that stormy time, to face a current of sectional prejudice and strongly biased criticism. He was fully conscience of this and managed matters with prudence and foresight highly commendable. His highest ambition was to transform the institution with which he was connected into a university proper. A letter of 112 printed pages, which he addressed to the trustees, gives much information, not only about himself but about the university and public opinion at that time. His desire to elevate and broaden the university is shown by the following expressions, which are found in the first part of this letter:

"It need hardly be called to your attention that the educational world has long been agitated by the question, whether the American college system has not failed to keep pace with the intellectual advancement of the age in which we live. So large have been the conquests of mind especially, in the field of physical science, during the present century, that a much more considerable amount of positive knowledge is now expected of a liberally educated man, than was the case when the system was orginated. * * * It is claimed that the necessity of the age requires of colleges, that they should no longer teach merely with the view, through the exercise of the mind upon the subjects taught, to develop the intellectual powers; but that, besides this, they should make knowledge itself, for its uses, the end of their teaching, and should therefore, teach much more than was esteemed necessary—more, in fact, than existed to be taught, a century ago. The colleges have tacitly admitted the justice of the claim."

He strongly urged the introduction of the A. M. degree as post-graduate work, and after quoting the acts of several institutions as authority, he added:

"The expediency of adopting a similar system here [University of Mis-

[7]See "Autobiographical Sketch of Dr. F. A. Barnard," in another part of this volume.—EDITOR.

sissippi] cannot, therefore, be justly regarded as problematical. The system has, in effect, been already tried; and its adoption by the enlightened board of trustees of Columbia College, during the past year, with the results of experiment, and the approving opinions of the most competent authorities in the country before them, is evidence that it is in accordance with the exigencies of the case, and with the spirit of progress which characterizes the age."

He further urged the board "to build up here [in Mississippi] ultimately a university in the largest acceptation of that term." In this connection he said:

"It is to be expected that, in the progress of years, schools of agriculture, of natural history, of medical science, of civil and political history, or Oriental learning, and others, will be established as they shall appear to be needed; and that the existing school of law will be strengthened by the addition of new professorships."

He believed that reform was necessary not only in the organization of the university but also in the system of instruction usually pursued by the professors. Discussing this point he revealed to the board his ideal of a professor as follows:

"If at the same time the system of instruction to which he is obliged to conform be such that, instead of permitting him to act the part of a mere listener to the performances of his pupils, it compels him to be himself the living exposition of his subject, then he is brought under the influence of the highest stimulus to exertion by which a man in his position can possibly be actuated, the ambition to attain an honorable personal reputation; an ambition secretly reinforced by the consciousness that to be deficient is to incur inevitable exposure, and to be exposed is to be disgraced."

His ideal of a university was that it should be: "A repository of universal truth, and a dispenser of universal knowledge." His conception of the true function of a university was as follows:

"The University is to be the prime mover of the entire educational system of the State. The character of every school from the highest to the lowest, within our borders, is to be determined ultimately by the respectability or inferiority of this. Though it is true that but a fraction of the people will receive their personal instruction within the University halls, yet all, without exception, will be partakers of the benefits of which the University is to be the fountain-head and the central source. If the institution does not immediately teach the entire people, it will teach their teachers; or, what is equivalent to this, it will force every instructor whom it does not itself instruct, to come up to the standard it prescribes, on penalty of being else driven from the educational field."

He was aware that to secure the reforms he wanted, public

opinion needed to be aroused and enlightened, and, on some points, corrected. He therefore took pains to answer the arguments of those who wished only practical education, showing that the deeply hidden truths of science often develop most practical results. Appealing to State pride he continues:

"It is, in a great degree, through their institutions, that the character of communities are judged. There is no institution in Mississippi, and evidently there can be none, whose aspect, in the eyes of distant observers, will ever present a more significant or decisive indication of the intelligence of our people, than that of this University. Whatever raises the character of the University, raises the State in the consideration of mankind. There are reasons why, in the nature of things, it must be so. The University, as the chief educational institution of the State, will ultimately determine the kind and grade of teaching in all other schools; and the popular enlightenment must always maintain a certain definite relation to the character of the schools in which the people are taught. Distant observers will judge of the invisible effect by the visible cause. If the University stands high in a literary and scientific point of view, the inference is a natural one, that it cannot be other than an intelligent people whose educational training is subject to such a control. There is another mode of viewing the subject, from which the same inference may be drawn. Regarding the University not as acting upon the people, but as being acted upon by them, not as determining the popular character for intelligence, but as being determined in its own character by the popular will, it will follow no less than before, that precisely according as its own intellectual position is assumed at a higher or lower level, the repute in which the State itself is held abroad will also be higher or lower."

In contrasting what the University ought to do with what it really was doing, he continues:

"But what *is* the University of to-day? What but a training school for immature minds impaired indeed in its usefulness for this purpose by the attempt to accomplish along with it, other and entirely incompatible objects? If the people suppose that this is a place to make practical men, or profoundly scientific men—if they suppose that it is within the reach of possibility for the University, under the existing system, to turn out accomplished engineers, or expert chemists, or proficient astronomers, or profound philosophers, or even finished scholars—we know very well that they are deceived. We feel ourselves bound to rise above the grade of the German gymnasium which is precisely our grade of to-day, and to assume by approaches which the force of circumstances may indeed make gradual, but which must be no less steady and perservering, the character of the German University."

An interesting sketch of Dr. Barnard's character and of his services at the University of Mississippi is here quoted with permission from a private letter from Dr. Eugene W. Hilgard. This

letter was written from Berkeley, Cal., June 6, 1888, and reads as follows:

"When I arrived at the University of Mississippi in September, 1855, I found Dr. Barnard occupying in a measure the position of a ferment. He saw the weak points of the *ancient regime* and the need of infusing a new spirit into the University; but he found himself with little active sympathy among the faculty, and with the prospects of active support from but a few of the trustees, in any effective measures of reform or progress. Among the trustees, those who either shared or were ready to receive his views in regard to the Univesity policy to be pursued, James Young, of Columbus,, Jacob Thompson and Thomas Pegues were chief. * * * Being fresh from Europe I was able to give him a variety of information that was both new and useful to him in his plans for the future; and also to assist him in obtaining such scientific data as, being contained in German literature, were not at that time readily accessible to him.

"A certain shyness with which he was popularly regarded at that time was curiously instanced on the occasion of a visit of Bishop Greene, of the Diocese of Mississippi, when, as was rumored, Barnard was to be ordained a priest of the Episcopal Church. The good people of Oxford had up to that time been almost unacquainted with Episcopal service; they were Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians of various shades of opinion, and the few Episcopalians (and still fewer Catholics) then residing among them were looked upon as a kind of mild heretics, excusable only because they comprehended such highly respectable people as Jacob Thompson, and the Pegues families. But the very name of *priest*, when mentioned in connection with the impending ordination, seemed to give rise to a kind of holy horror, manifested in whispered conversations on the street corners and elsewhere; and the momentous question whether a true Protestant could conscientiously sanction by his presence such a proceeding, was decided in the affirmative only by the influence of intense female curiosity. The little church occupied for the occasion was thronged; but the general sentiment seemed to be that the whole proceeding savored exceedingly of popery, and Barnard was for a time regarded with less favor than ever. So great was the orthodoxy of that period that one Catholic at least was strongly advised by well-meaning friends not to let his membership of that church be known to outsiders.

"Probably the person most thoroughly incompatible with Barnard, and then a member of the faculty, was Lewis Harper, at the time State Geologist and also Professor of Chemistry. The gross ignorance, vainglory and unblushing self-laudation of that remarkable personage (with whom as my chief I had to maintain such relations as were possible under the circumstances), were to him a source of mingled amusement and indignation; while on Harper's side the antipathy was returned with interest the more ample as Harper saw his position endangered by the searching inquiries into the efficiency of his department, the origin of which he—doubtless with some reason—ascribed to Barnard's influence. His indignation culminated when, some time after, he was relieved from the duties of the chair of chemistry in order that he might the more energetically devote himself to the geological side of his duties, notably to the geological survey; while the course of chemistry was, for the time being, assigned to Barnard. The latter thereby incurred Harper's vehement denunciation and undying enmity, which afterwards found vent in a libelous pamphlet issued at the time when Barnard's election to the

Presidency was pending. Barnard was at New York, but was advised of the publication by a telegram sent jointly by Mr. Lamar and myself, with names disguised by inversion. He immediately took measures to counteract the effect by means of a circular written in a very dignified tone, and widely circulated; while at the same time he incited his friends in the Board of Trustees to redoubled exertion by the declaration that as the failure of his election would be interpreted by the public as effect of Harper's pamphlet and as a *quasi* endorsement of the latter by the board, such failure would of necessity result in his withdrawal from the University. His election by a handsome majority, and the dismissal of Harper from the University, terminated this episode.

"With his accession to the Presidency, his restless activity became even more pronounced, although often grievously checked by the opposition or inertia he encountered in the Board of Trustees. He sometimes jocularly alluded to himself as being like the 'stick that was so crooked it could not lie still.' Two chief obstacles stood in the way of the advance in the direction desired by him; namely, the conversion of the institution from a close college into a true University. One was the failure of the majority of the trustees to appreciate the propriety of, or occasion for such a transformation; the other was the inadequate income then possessed by the institution. He applied himself logically first to the task of converting the trustees to his views, after which it would be far easier to compass the second point with their united help. His 'Letter to the Board of Trustees' occupied all his leisure for some months, and I doubt that as an eloquent plea for the higher education in the best sense of the word, that 'Letter' can be readily excelled. It was read by me partly in manuscript as composed, partly in the proof sheets, and I enjoyed it with genuine youthful enthusiasm. When it was finally published, it produced a powerful effect in the State and especially upon the body to which it was addressed. Even those who had been most hostile both to the man and to his plans, which were considered as damnable innovations, acknowledged the power of his arguments and went cheerfully, if not heartily, into the fight for a better future for the University of Mississippi. At the session of the Legislature following the publication, Barnard was invited to address both houses in the assembly chamber, and made one of the powerful and telling addresses that seemed to come equally easy to his tongue and to his pen. It was then hoped that the Legislature might be prevailed upon to recognize the responsibility of the State for loss by mismanagement of the valuable 'seminary lands' donated by the United States and located in the best portion of the Yazoo Bottom, and that the interest on the reasonable value of those lands could thus be secured as a permanent and fairly adequate endowment for the University. In this he and the other friends of the institution were doomed to disappointment; 'repudiation' was still too fresh in the minds of the people, and the consequences of any recognition of responsibility for what happened in the 'flush times' was to be carefully avoided. Nevertheless, the presentation made by Barnard and by the trustees, of the needs of the University and of the claims upon the State, made a sufficient impression to bring about liberal appropriations, among which that for the erection of the observatory building, and for the purchase of what was then considered a large telescope, and a good equipment for the department of physics and astronomy, was naturally nearest to his heart. But the purchase of the Budd collection of shells and of the Markee collection of minerals, shows that he was by no means forgetful of claims of other departments; the chemical laboratory was also in some respects excellently well supplied

under his initiative. In all these purchases he was ever careful of the adaptation to instruction and investigation rather than show, and the gift of several collections of miscellaneous curiosities that would have delighted the heart of the average showman, were declined under that point of view.

"Being himself an expert worker with tools and of an eminently and practically inventive turn of mind, the well-furnished workshop of the department of physics was his favorite resort for recreation after the day's duties were over. Many of the instruments imported from Europe had arrived in a more or less damaged condition, and there was no instrument-maker to whom the repairs could be entrusted, nearer than Washington. He set to work systematically to gradually do most of this work himself, and accomplished it in the most workmanlike fashion. The great frictional electrical machine was built according to his plans by Ritchie, of Boston; as was also the electric clock, differing in principle from any theretofore constructed.[8] He was still, with my assistance, investigating some minor difficulties that beset its satisfactory working, when the war intervened. Ever interested in all inventions that promised usefulness, he even constructed the working parts of a sewing machine on what was then a new principle, but developed the idea no farther.

"Finding that wider knowledge of languages would be extremely useful to him in keeping always abreast the progress made elsewhere, he quietly but persistently devoted himself to the task of acquiring a reading knowledge at least of several more of the modern languages. In this he showed a wonderful facility, for in a few months after beginning the study of German he was able to dispense with my aid in reading the German journals of science; the Swedish language followed shortly after; and the Dutch and Italian were next on the docket. He rarely, however, attempted speech in any foreign language, although his familiarity with the French would have readily enabled him to converse, with a little practice.

"Few men possessed a truer geniality and a keener sense of the humorous; and many a dark day and acute disappointment was lightened by his perception of the humorous side, especially of his own situation. His wit was good humored and always carefully regardful of the feelings of others; and although remarkably free from prejudice and ever disposed to give a fair hearing to all, he had in an eminent degree the faculty designated by phrenologists as 'reverence.' He was intolerant only toward all that is low and coarse, and toward charlatanism and *insincerity.*

"The political complications that led to the Civil War were a source of great distress to him. While very shy of any actual contact with politics, and having little patience with the methods of professional politicians, he was strong in his national pride, and I sometimes twitted him with his having been at one time believed to be a member of the Know-Nothing party, although his broad and cosmopolitan views, and his keen sense of right and wrong, chimed illy with the supposition. As the political sky grew darker and more threatening, he seemed to shrink from the contemplation of possible coming events, and sought consolation in more assiduous study. He would often throw down in disgust a newspaper teeming (as nearly all did at that time) with *ex parte* statements,

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[8]These interesting relics are carefully preserved (1912) in the Physical Laboratory of the University.—EDITOR.

special pleas and senseless vaporings, and say with a sigh: 'Oh, dear me, if people would only behave themselves.' * * * When he left the University in 1862, it was my expectation to follow him to Richmond in a few weeks, to assist him in carrying out plans proposed in connection with the Confederate ordnance department and specially with the 'Nitre Bureau' created for the purpose of manufacturing ordnance supplies. What was the precise nature of the influence that changed his decision and resulted in his crossing the Potomac, I have never learned; but I have never doubted that it was the result of an honest and imperative conviction of duty. In him the South lost one of its broadest, most active and efficient men—efficient, thorough and conscientious in all that he undertook to do, and utterly refusing to do anything that contravened his conviction.

"E. W. HILGARD."

There has been much said about the offer of Dr. Barnard to serve the Confederate Government in 1862. Wishing to know all the facts in the case, I wrote a letter of inquiry to President Davis, the answer to which is as follows:

"BEAUVOIR, MISS., Oct, 22, 1888.

"John Wesley Johnson, Esq.

"Dear Sir:

"* * * Ex-Chancellor F. A. P. Barnard did come to Richmond as you suppose and tender his services to the Confederate Government, which were accepted in connection with the niter and mining bureau. Before entering upon duty he asked for leave to go to Fortress Monroe, where his brother, Major Barnard, of the engineers, was then on duty, in order to provide for his wife's going to Europe. She was then, I believe, in New York City. He left and did not return.

* * * * * * * *

"Respectfully and truly yours,

"JEFFERSON DAVIS."

I think there is no doubt but that he was halting between two opinions, whether to cast his lot permanently with his adopted State and with the people who appreciated and honored him so highly, or to return to his first love, the section that gave him his birth and education. It was an embarrassing position; and in his hesitation, it is said, his wife held the balance of power over his affections and persuaded him to go North.

He was elected president of Columbia College in May, 1864, and for twenty-five years following devoted all his mighty energies and resources to the development of that noble and wealthy institution. He was always an ardent believer in coeducation, and through his influence the Barnard College for Women, an

annex to Columbia College, was established. To this institution he left his estate valued at $50,000. He died after brief illness on the 25th of April, 1889, and his remains were buried in his native village, Sheffield, Mass.

I wish to add in conclusion a few expressions from those who knew him best. Dr. R. M. Leavell, who was a student under him, says:

"Dr. Barnard was a good man, a great scholar, a passionate devotee to learning and research, and, with all, a man of tender feelings. I was one of the boys in prison whom he helped. I was captured at Gettysburg and sent a prisoner to Johnson's Island. After General Lee's surrender, he secured for me, at my request, a special release, a favor which I shall ever remember with gratitude."

Dr. John N. Waddel, who was associated with him in the faculty, says:

"Dr. Barnard was a man of vast learning, and was among the foremost of the great scientific men of his age. While at the University of Mississippi the minute details of college management and discipline were so exacting as to preclude the possibility of his devoting much time to the interest of science on its broader theater. He was not by nature a disciplinarian, and, although greatly esteemed, he was not successful in the line of government. * * * Some have censured him for leaving the South at the opening of the war of the States; but while, of course, we did not, and could not, sympathize with him in his preferences, at the same time, who of the many critics of Dr. Barnard, placed in his circumstances, would have felt and acted differently? It was reported, with what foundation I never knew, that he used all possible influence with authorities of the invading army under General Grant to prevail upon them to prevent the soldiers from destroying the University property when they took possession of Oxford in 1862."[9]

The following words of appreciation are quoted from *Harper's Weekly* of May 11, 1889:

"The death of Dr. Barnard deprives the nation of a loyal son whose fidelity was tested in trying times; American science, of one of its foremost representatives; Columbia College, of the ablest and most successful in its line of presidents."

J. G. Whittier, in *The Critic* of May 4, 1889, pays the following tribute to this great man:

"A scholar of rare acquirements, brilliant, graceful, and handsome, surrounded by admirers of both sexes, he was unassuming and unpretentious, and bore himself then, as ever after, as a perfect gentleman."

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[9] *Academic Memorials*, 284.

The faculty of the University of Mississippi adopted resolutions, May, 1889, in which they say among other things:

"We hear of his death with regretful sorrow, recognizing the fact that the University of Mississippi has lost a friend, the cause of education, a strong support, and science, a vigorous advocate."

He was a member of many scientific associations, often serving by presidential appointment on special missions for research and observation. He had degrees conferred upon him as follows: LL. D., by Jefferson College and also by Yale; D. D., by the University of Mississippi; L. H. D., by New York University; D. C. L., by King's College, Canada.

A BOY'S RECOLLECTION OF THE WAR.

By W. O. Hart.[1]

In 1861, when the war broke out, I was almost four years of age, and, therefore, nearly eight years of age when the war ended, but I have a very vivid recollection of many incidents happening in the meantime, including many in the State of Mississippi.

My father, Toby Hart, enlisted in the early part of the war and was sent for service to the forts below the city of New Orleans. But having been an employer of large numbers of men, he chafed under the restraint of being in a subordinate position. Sometime thereafter, he obtained a leave of absence to return to the city, where he organized a company, of which he became captain. It was known afterwards as "Company E, Eighth Louisiana Battalion of Heavy Artillery." I remember distinctly when he came home and stated that he was going to organize a company, but I have no recollection of when he left the city.

My mother and I left, on what I was told, was the last train that went out of the city over what was then known as the Jackson railroad, now a part of the Illinois Central. This train left after General Butler had entered the city. The only other circumstance I remember in connection with this event, was that

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[1]William Octave Hart, born in New Orleans, August 19, 1857. He is the only child of Toby Hart and Anna Hussey. Mrs. Hart, his wife, was a native of New Orleans, and her parents natives of Ireland, where the family lived for many years.

Toby Hart was the eldest son of William R. Hart. He was born at Newberry, South Carolina, August 29, 1835, and died on December 27, 1907. William R. Hart was born in New York city in 1810, and was the eldest son of William Hart, a native of England, who served in the Revolutionary War on the British side, but after the war remained in New York city and became an American citizen. The mother of Toby Hart was Miss Harriet Carter, of Washington city, who died in New Orleans at the age of twenty-eight.—Editor.

I heard it said that Butler had stated he intended to hang Mumford for tearing down the United States flag from the Mint, where it had been placed by order of Admiral Farragut. I do not remember anything about the arrival of the Federal fleet, nor do I remember anything about Mumford's tearing down the flag, until I heard of the threat made by General Butler.

The train we were on stopped at Camp Moore, where my father was temporarily stationed, and at different times we stayed at Brookhaven, Jackson and Meridian. At the first named place, I remember receiving from some one, the first toy books I ever saw, being the story of Mother Hubbard and the story of Cock Robin, and I kept them and prized them until, from being so frequently used and shown to my little friends, they were worn out.

Meridian, as I remember it at that time, was a place with a few log cabins, in one of which we lived for a few days. I think it was at Jackson, that I saw men riding by in wagons, whom I was told were deserters being taken out somewhere to be shot. I also recall some very doleful music that was played as they went along, part of which, I think, I heard at one of the performances of the Clansman in New Orleans, a few years ago. We finally reached Enterprise, Mississippi, where, with other officers' families, we were located in an abandoned schoolhouse. This building was so large that tents were put in it for sleeping quarters.

My father was there with his command, and there were a great many other soldiers. It was here that I saw baseball played for the first time. My father, who had been an active amateur baseball player in New Orleans organized two teams, which played in the large grounds near the schoolhouse. I think it was while there that we made a trip to Cooper's Wells, where one day was spent in enjoyment. But, suddenly, I was told that an order had come for everybody to go to Vicksburg. Just before starting, there was a grand ball given in the schoolhouse, and I was allowed to stay up and see the dancing and wait for supper. I remember distinctly the privates and others looking through the windows and other openings at the officers and ladies at the supper table. Finally, when these had finished, the others

were allowed to come in, and there was plenty for all. As in the case of the great ball at Waterloo, the night before the great battle, "There was a sound of revelry by night," and everybody was gay and happy because the sound of war had not yet reached that place. There was plenty of music, and the leader of one of the bands, after the war, settled in Gainesville, Alabama, where we then lived, as I will state further on. A member of the band was a Mr. Sinclair, whom my father had known in New Orleans before the war, and whom I saw after the surrender in New Orleans, as a member of a stock company which was playing in the old St. Charles Theatre. Among the members of my father's command was Mr. H. N. Ogden, who was second lieutenant, I think. He afterwards became attorney general of Louisiana.

At Vicksburg, my mother and I occupied a tent on one of the hills, and I remember that we often saw the shells explode, though we were too far away to be in danger. My father's command planted the first gun at Vicksburg, at a point now marked by an iron tablet, erected by the United States government. This place is below the city and near one of the railroad freight depots.

In 1909, just before the Confederate Reunion at Memphis, I visited Vicksburg, to arrange for the visit of Camp Beauregard, No. 130, United Sons of Confederate Veterans of New Orleans, of which I was then commandant, to attend the exercises held in connection with the unveiling of the monument to General Stephen D. Lee. As Captain W. T. Rigby, superintendent of the military park, drove me through the park, I noticed that though Mississippi, and other States, had small monuments or markers placed where their commands had been located during the Vicksburg campaign, Louisiana had none. I thereupon suggested to Captain Rigby that if the war department had no objection, I would erect a small monument to my father's command. Permission was subsequently given, and the monument was erected and put in place by the superintendent. This was the first monument erected in the park by a private individual. Subsequently, through the efforts of Captain Rigby and Captain Lewis Guion, of New Orleans, who succeeded General Lee on

the commission, and Col. A. L. Slack, of Tallulah, Louisiana, who had been in the Vicksburg campaign, all the Louisiana commands which took part in the campaign are now commemorated by small monuments given by individuals, or built from a fund subscribed by private parties and by appropriations of the city of New Orleans and the police juries of Louisiana.

My father was suddenly ordered away from Vicksburg to Selma, on some special service, and, therefore, did not surrender to Grant. We traveled very slowly across the country in an ox wagon, and it took us several weeks to get to our destination. I remember that we passed through one abandoned town, I think it was either Mount Carmel or Monticello, where there was not a person living, and the only living things we saw in the place were some goats. The men had gone to the war and the women and children were elsewhere. We had go trouble getting food and shelter at the farmhouses along the way until we finally reached Selma. With us were an elderly lady and gentleman, whose names I do not recall.

At Selma I passed my sixth birthday. There I heard for the first time of Fenner's battery, but I afterwards heard it spoken of so many times that I thought everybody knew of it. In Selma my father was taken sick, and was relieved from active service for a short time and sent to Demopolis as provost marshal. For a time we stayed with a Mrs. Lattimore, whom I well remember calling "Mrs. Latticeworks." But my being ordered to the front, we separated and I did not see him again until the next year. From Demopolis my mother and I went to Mobile. I do not recall where we took the train, but I remember that we slept on iron rails during the trip. At Mobile we embarked for Montgomery on a steamer, which I was told was loaded with gunpowder. I remember distinctly that the doors of the state-rooms were left open to facilitate the escape of the passengers, should anything happen. At Montgomery I saw snow for the first time.

Next, we went to Cahaba, Alabama, which was then a flourishing place, and I was told that it had been the capital of Alabama, but I believe is now totally abandoned. We then went to Gainesville, Alabama, arriving there, as near as I can recall, in the

winter of 1863. We remained there until just after the presidential election of 1868, when we returned to New Orleans, permanently to reside. Several times my father came over for a day or two. He surrendered at Meridian and soon thereafter came home to Gainesville. I have no recollection of hearing anything said about the fall of Vicksburg, nor of the surrender of General Lee, nor of the assassination of President Lincoln, but I remember hearing people talk of the fall of Port Hudson, which occurred soon after the fall of Vicksburg, either while I was at Demopolis or Gainesville. While living in Gainesville, when it was expected that Mobile was about to fall, there was established in our house a printing office, where a newspaper was published by the owners of some paper in Mobile. After the supply of paper they had brought with them was exhausted, and the small amount that was in the town had been used, they began to publish their newspaper on wall paper and kept it up until the end of the war. The poem by George McKnight, who wrote under the *nom de plume* of "Asa Hartz," beginning,

> "My love reposes on a rosewood frame,
> A bunk have I":

was published in one of these wall-paper editions.

Gainesville before the war, and during the war, was a flourishing town, and a great shipping point. The boat trade on the Tombigbee river to Mobile on the south, and Columbus on the north, was very large, and I saw many boats on its waters during the war, but I can recall the names of only two of them—the "Admiral" and the "Jefferson Davis." There were many large stores there, and a short railroad connected the town with the Mobile and Ohio Railroad at a place called Gainesville Junction; but this track has since been torn up, the river trade has disappeared, and the glories of Gainesville are no more. The place was frequently visited by large bodies of Confederate troops, and many times prisoners were brought in to be taken to other points for exchange or confinement.

At one time there occurred what was called by the people, "Grayson's Raid," though the name of the leader of the raid was General Grierson. I think he was from Missouri, and have read

that he died recently. I remember the cloud of dust as the cavalry came into the little town. They did not stay very long, because, I suppose, they were afraid of the Confederate troops which were in the neighborhood. They burned the telegraph office, tore up part of the railroad tracks, and carried off all the horses they could find. As far as I can remember, no damage was done to private property. But I recall that several times afterwards, when it was reported that the raiders were coming back, we buried all our silverware in the yard, as many other families did.

For many years prior to his death, about twelve years ago, there lived in New Orleans a lawyer, Judge Heidenhain by name, who had served in the Union army. I became very intimate with him, and on my telling him some of my war experiences in conversation one day, I found that he had been one of the raiders. A great many Confederate soldiers surrendered at Gaiensville at the end of the war, and some of them are now living in New Orleans. Among them is the venerable Confederate chaplain, Rev. A. Gordon Bakewell, who was also, as he told me some days ago, on the same train on which my mother and I left the city. A large Federal garrison was established in Gainesville after the war, and remained there for many months. It was not long after the surrender before United States money again became current in the little town. A good many of the stores, particularly the large store of Russell & Dunlap, which I well remember on Main street, had a large stock of goods, and the sale of this stock and of the country produce to the soldiers kept the town moving. In addition to that, Col. R. G. McMahon, proprietor of the American Hotel, and one of the leading citizens of the State, issued a "shinplaster" currency which circulated freely, and, I believe, every dollar of it was redeemed.

Soon after the war, my father returned to New Orleans to see if he could find anything of what he had left behind; because when my mother and I went out of the house, on Camp near Jackson street, which is still standing, we, like many others, left as if for a visit and took nothing with us except some clothing. But, of course, everything had disappeared. All that he recovered was a few family pictures, one of them of my father, which was

taken just about the time I was born, and of which I am still the happy possessor.

He was absent on the Fourth of July, 1865, and on that day the Federal officers in the town gave a grand dinner, and little boy that I was, they had me there. I feel compelled to say that I was always a great favorite with the soldiers of both armies, and this invitation resulted from that fact. When my father returned, and found out that his only child, on the Fourth of July, of all days, had taken dinner with "Yankee" soldiers, as all called them at that time, I recall that he cried like a baby. But, of course, long before his death, which occurred in December, 1907, he felt, as do all true Southerners, that the Union soldier is entitled to just as much credit for what he did, as the Confederate soldier. Many a time I saw wounded and sick soldiers brought into Gainesville, and I saw enough and heard enough of the horrors of war never to want to see another conflict.

In 1867 my mother and myself returned to New Orleans for a short visit, and, of course, things in a big city were quite a revelation to me, for I had little memory of the city before the war; and I was certainly very glad to return to New Orleans, in 1868, to permanently reside. Since then I have been almost around the world, and I have said many times that I wanted to go back to Gainesville to see the place, but I have never been able to get there, though only a short distance away. My esteemed friend, Mr. W. S. Benedict, an eminent lawyer of New Orleans, who died a few years ago, told me that he was born in Gainesville; so he and I had planned a trip together to the old town; but he died, and I could not get there, and perhaps never will.

While I feel that the foregoing account cannot prove of much interest, it has been a pleasant task for me to write it. I have often intended to do so, and I am glad of the opportunity which now presents itself. What I have stated represents entirely personal recollections. I could add much more if I was to put in my impressions, or what was told to me by others; but, as you will see, I have confined myself entirely to personal recollections, and they may have some value, as representing the part of the war which a little fellow saw.

RECONSTRUCTION IN MARSHALL COUNTY.

By Ruth Watkins.[1]

I. Introduction.

Marshall County was established February 9th, 1836. It was originally settled by a class of planters who were unusually intelligent, patriotic and public-spirited. They came mostly from Tennessee, Georgia and Alabama, however, the Carolinas and Virginia were also represented. As Byhalia was settled almost exclusively by families from North Carolina, it was called "the North Carolina neighborhood." Many Marshall County citizens became prominent and well known, and through them the county gained the reputation of furnishing even more than her quota of "great men." Among her sons may be found the names of Strickland, Mott, Featherston, Trotter, Chalmers, Barksdale, Matthews, Benton, Vaughan, Walter, Govan, and Walthall. Among the early settlers were Frederick Huling, circuit judge; George Wilson, district attorney; Alexander M. Clayton, circuit and supreme judge; Roger Barton, a prominent lawyer; Sam Benton, colonel of the Thirty-seventh Mississippi Regiment; J. W. C. Watson, senator in the Confederate States Congress; H. W. Walter, lawyer of high character, who served on the staff of General Bragg with the rank of colonel, and J. W. Chalmers, vice-chancellor and United States Senator.

The county was named in honor of Chief Justice John Marshall. It is located on the northern border of the state, and is bounded by the Tennessee state line on the north, Union and Benton Counties on the east, Tallahatchie river and Lafayette County on

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[1]This contribution is the result of seminary work in the Department of History in the University of Mississippi in the session of 1910-'11.
A biographical sketch of the author will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, XI, 205, footnote.—Editor.

the south, and DeSoto and Tate Counties on the west. The territory of Marshall County now embraces 707 square miles, its original area having been twice encroached upon by the formation of Benton and Tate Counties in 1870 and 1873, respectively.

The Illinois Central Railway crosses the county from north to south and the Frisco from northwest to southeast. These two roads intersect at Holly Springs, the county seat, and together make a total of sixty-three miles of railroad within the limits of the county.[2]

This is principally an agricultural county, with cotton for its chief product. The yield of this staple in 1860 was 49,348 bales, the largest number according to acreage produced by any county in the United States.[3] Other products of the county are corn, small grain, and every variety of vegetable and fruit that grows in this latitude. At the New Orleans Exposition, the Marshall County exhibit of apples, peaches and pears took a number of first premiums. The timber growth consists of numerous kinds of oak, hickory, walnut, poplar, gum, beech, maple and cypress. Pasturage is good and extensive, consisting of Bermuda grass, native grasses and switch cane. The topography of the county is varied, being in the main slightly rolling and well drained by many streams, the chief of which are Coldwater, Chewalla, Chuffawah, Pigeon Roost and Spring creeks and Tippah and Tallahatchie rivers.

Holly Springs, the county seat, is situated near the center of the county. Other railroad towns of the county are Red Banks, Victoria, Potts Camp, Hudsonville, Waterford and Byhalia. The towns of Tallaloosa, Waterford and Hudsonville are now extinct. Tallaloosa was located about eight miles west of Holly Springs on the Pigeon Roost creek. It was incorporated in 1838, but was about extinct before the war.[4] Waterford was situated one

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[2]The Illinois Central, which was originally the Mississippi Central, was completed in 1858, but the Frisco line was not built until after reconstruction days (1887).

[3]Clayton's *Centennial Address*, 20.

[4]A more detailed account of this place will be found in Riley's "Extinct Towns and Villages of Mississippi" in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, V, 356.

mile west of the station of the same name on the Illinois Central railroad. It was incorporated in 1838, and at one time was a lively little town. There are now no houses standing on the site of old Waterford.[5] Hudsonville was about four miles southwest of old Lamar, on the stage road that ran from Lagrange, Tennessee, to Holly Springs. It continued as a town until the present station of the same name was located on the Illinois Central. The old town was then absorbed and disappeared from the map.[6]

The population in 1860 numbered 28,823, of which 1,917 were voters, and 15,448 were slaves. During the entire reconstruction period blacks formed more than fifty per cent of the total population. In 1870 four-sevenths of the population were blacks. Wm. Henry Coxe was the largest slave-holder in the county, owning 200 or more. Six other families owned as many as a hundred.[7] The negroes were well scattered over the county, but the ratio of blacks was larger in the fourth district, in the southwestern part of the county. The region around Chulahoma was called the Black Border.

The number of men furnished by Marshall for the struggle between the states has not been ascertained, but it is known that she furnished more than twenty companies. Holly Springs was subjected to more than sixty distinct raids, and was for a time Grant's headquarters. His official residence was in the home of W. H. Coxe, one of the most splendid residence in the town, and his private residence was at the home of Colonel H. W. Walter. Holly Springs is famous historically as the scene of Van Dorn's raid,[8] by which Grant's immense stores of ammunition and supplies were entirely destroyed, the loss amounting to millions of dollars.[9] The old courthouse was burned by Grant,

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[5]See Ibid., 356-7.

[6]See Ibid., 357.

[7]See Appendix B, Table I.

[8]See Deupree's "Capture of Holly Springs" in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* IV, 49-61.

[9]At the time of General Van Dorn's raid, in addition to the sutler's supplies stored at Holly Springs, a large amount of money had been brought there by General Grant's paymasters for the purpose of paying off the troops. This money consisted mostly of treasury notes of the issue of April, 1862. All of it fell into the hands of the Confederates. As Confederate money was at that time as valuable as greenbacks, the Con-

and many business houses suffered the same fate at the hands of Van Dorn. Besides these disasters, the town and surrounding country were left in the last months of the war, at the mercy of large bands of deserters who infested the county, robbing friend and foe alike, and making the condition of the citizens truly pitiable.[10] As a result, the county was a barren waste at the close of the war. Fences were gone, barns and homes had been destroyed, stock was scarce, and the lands were badly washed by neglect.

As Holly Springs was a municipal district during this period, it deserves special mention. It was incorporated in 1837, and has since that time been the seat of justice of Marshall County. It is situated near the center of the county, at the junction of the Illinois Central and the Memphis branch of the Frisco. In 1910 it had a population of 2,192, which was about the same as in 1860, though Judge Clayton claims that it had a population of 4,000 prior to the war.[11] Before the great conflict it was a thriving business town as well as a political and educational center. The following excerpt is taken from Lowry and McCradle's *History of Mississippi:*

"In the city of New Orleans, on Camp Street, facing the old La Fayette Square, is a tall cast-iron structure, called the Moresque building, and

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federates amused themselves by lighting their cigars with twenty dollar bills and by sticking up sheets of this money on the walls and shooting at them with their pistols. There was one member of Van Dorn's men who was wiser than the rest. He rolled up many thousand dollars of these sheets and carried them home to his wife, and at the close of hostilities, found himself a very rich man.

Sam Finley, a Holly Springs boy, who died several years ago, and who at one time was Mayor of the town, had a very close call during Van Dorn's raid. He was at that time about fourteen years old. Noting the reckless manner in which the soldiers were throwing the captured greenbacks around the streets, he concluded he would lay in a supply and take it home. He entered the paymaster's room, rolled up a big lot of the money in a rug, and started down the steps. The next thing he knew, he had just regained consciousness on the bed at his home, with a horrible wound in his face, which was caused by the premature explosion of Grant's magazine, a piece of exploded shell having entered his cheek. He never knew what became of his money, but he carried a terrible scar to his grave.

[10]Garner's *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 25.
[11]Clayton's *Centennial Address.*

on the base of the iron columns that rise to support the Moorish arches is an inscription that tells of the growth and prosperity of Mississippi. It states that the iron was cast in Holly Springs, Mississippi, and shows that during Governor McWillie's administration, Holly Springs, with her own capital, was a successful competitor against the founderies of the country."[12]

This foundry belonged to Jones, McElwain & Co.[13]

A marble yard was another successful establishment.

"The enduring monument which the county has erected to her Confederate dead is the work of this company, and reflects credit on its execution and on the generosity of those who raised it."[14]

Holly Springs has furnished to the state ten major and brigadier-generals, three senators, four congressmen, one chancery judge, three circuit judges, and three secretaries of state. It was also the home of Sherwood Bonner,[15] L. A. Smith, Mrs. J. H. Watson, and Mrs. H. C. Myers, and it was here that J. H. Ingraham lived and wrote his *Pillar of Fire* and *Prince of the House of David.*

The complete court records of the reconstruction period are still in existence. Although Holly Springs has not been without a local newspaper since 1840, no files have been preserved for the period antedating 1880. A scrapbook belonging to W. A. Anderson, of Holly Springs, and containing various unidentified clippings, is the only newspaper source of reconstruction history that could be found by the writer. These sources, and the statements made by the people who observed and participated in the events of the time, form the basis for this contribution.

II. Parties and Party Leaders.

During the reconstruction period, there were two main parties, the Democratic and the Republican, in the county. The Democratic party was composed of Southern white people, and a few negroes who remained under the influence of their old masters. These latter, however, were the exception rather than the rule.

[12]Lowry & McCardle's *History of Mississippi,* 172.
[13]Clayton's *Centennial Address,* 17.
[14]Ibid.
[15]See Bondurant's "Sherwood Bonner, Her Life and Place in the Literature of the South" in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* II, 43-68.

The Republican party was more complex. There were a few native white men who, having been Old Line Whigs before the war, affiliated with the Republican party from principle after the surrender. There was also a native white element who allied themselves with the Republicans for the spoils of office and to gain notoriety. These "turn-coat scalawags," as they were called, were bitterly hated by the Democrats. The "carpetbaggers" formed another division to the Republican party. These were Northern men, generally of low principles and uncertain morality, who were attracted to the South by visions of offices and the spoils of political conquest. The negroes constituted another element. They were attracted to Republican ranks by the hope of obtaining "forty acres and a mule" and by the expectation of being able to hold the positions that had been filled by their former masters. The negroes were in the majority, having 3,669 males over twenty years, while the whites of corresponding age numbered only 3,025. Moreover, the Republican majority was greatly increased by the fact that a large number of whites had been disfranchised by the reconstruction acts of congress.

There was a number of prominent Democratic leaders in Marshall County, some of whom never held public office. Sketches will be given here of only a few of these men, who may be regarded as representative or typical of the whole.

Henry C. Myers was born in Wadesboro, North Carolina, and came to Marshall County in 1854. He joined the Second Missouri Regiment while still a mere lad and spent the last two years of the war in active service. After the close of hostilities, he spent three years at the University of Mississippi, whence he returned to his home in Holly Springs to take his place as a leader among the Democrats. He was one of the organizers of the Ku Klux Klan in the county. In the election of 1875 he was made Sheriff of Marshall County. At a later date he served his state in a higher position, that of secretary of state (1878-1886). He is a man of splendid family, highest integrity, and great ability, and to his efforts was largely due the early reclamation of his county from Radical misrule. He is now living in Memphis, Tennessee.

W. S. Featherston was born in Rutherford County, Tennessee, in 1820. He was admitted to the bar in Houston, Mississippi, in 1840. He was an able lawyer, profound thinker, and a man of incorruptible integrity. He served two terms in Congress before secession; was then made colonel of the Seventeenth Mississippi Regiment and later brigadier-general in the Confederate service. After the war, he resumed the practice of law at Holly Springs. He accepted a seat in the legislature in 1875, and led the successful attack upon Ames' Republican administration. Later he served in the legislature again, and then accepted an appointment as circuit judge of his district, which position he filled with great ability for a period of six years. He was also a conspicuous member of the Constitutional Convention of 1890. He was one of the ablest advocates and most valued advisors of the Democratic party in reconstruction times. He died in Holly Springs May 28, 1891.[16]

J. W. C. Watson was born in Albemarle County, Virginia, in 1808, and died in Holly Springs in 1890. He came to Holly Springs in 1845. He, too, was an able lawyer at one of the best bars in the State. He was a Whig and opposed secession, canvassing the State against it in 1860. But upon the passage of the ordinance, he could not persuade himself, as he says, to "go against his blood and kindred." He was a member of the Confederate Senate. He held many responsible positions before and after the war, such as member of the legislature, member of the State constitutional convention, and circuit judge. He was also commissioner to Washington, D. C., with a view to obtaining relief from the arbitrary and oppressive measures adopted by the federal government toward the seceding States after the war. Judge Watson was one of the ablest men in the Reconstruction Convention of 1865. In that body he favored abolition and declared that "the circumstances under which they met, to a great extent, impaired their independence and freedom of action, that they were a conquered people, and the army of the enemy at that

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[16]This information was obtained from Goodspeed's *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi*, I, 721-726, and the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, V, 239.

moment occupied their territory, and consequently they had no right to dictate to Congress terms of readmission to the Union." He was also a member of the convention of 1868. When this convention appointed a committee to memorialize Congress to give them power to declare all civil offices vacant, Watson, with fourteen other Conservatives, protested against this action, declaring that the government of the State was not in the hands of rebels. The convention refused to allow the protest to go upon the records, but decided by a vote of fifty to nineteen that "it be wrapped in brown paper and returned to the gentleman from Marshall." He resigned from this convention when it became evident that the majority intended to frame a constitution to disfranchise the influential whites. When the constitution of 1868 was submitted to the people, he canvassed the northern part of the State against it. He was opposed to the black code passed by the Mississippi legislature, and said that they had gone "entirely too far" in the matter. He was a conservative, trustworthy, public-spirited citizen.[17]

James R. Chalmers was born in Halifax County, Virginia, in 1831. His father, Joseph Chalmers, later moved to Holly Springs, and succeeded Robert J. Walker as United States senator from Mississippi. James Chalmers attended school at Holly Springs, and graduated from South Carolina College in 1851. He was admitted to the bar two years later. He was elected district attorney (1858) and was later chosen to represent his county in the secession convention. He entered the Confederate service as a captain in March, 1861, and was elected colonel of the Ninth Mississippi Regiment a month later. In February, 1862, he was promoted to the position of brigadier-general, and in the following year was transferred to the cavalry service. He surrendered in May, 1865, at the head of the first division of Forrest's Cavalry Army Corps. His command did splendid fighting at Shiloh and Murfreesborough. He represented Bolivar and Coahoma Counties in the State senate of Mississippi in 1876 and 1877, and was

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[17]This information was obtained from Goodspeed's *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi,* II, 996-998, and Garner's *Reconstruction in Mississippi,* 88, 116, 191, 223.

elected to Congress in 1876. He served in the Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth Congresses as a Democrat, and was reëlected to the Forty-Eighth Congress as an Independent, endorsed by both the Greenback and the Republican conventions, but his seat was successfully contested by John R. Lynch. His home was at Friars Point and Vicksburg during his terms of service in Congress, but later he removed to Memphis, Tennessee, where he practiced law until his death, April 9, 1898.[18]

Dr. W. M. Compton was a brilliant man of unquestioned ability. He edited a Democratic paper in Holly Springs, and was an organizer of the Ku Klux Klan in Marshall County, in which order he held the office and title of Grand Giant. He represented his county in the lower house of the legislature in 1861 and 1862. During the latter part of the reconstruction period, he turned Republican, left the county, and became superintendent of the insane asylum at Jackson.[19] He later returned to the county and attempted to found a hospital in Holly Springs, and while so engaged fell a victim to the yellow fever scourge in 1878. It is said that the county had no better citizen.[20]

Kinloch Falconer was graduated with distinction from the University of Mississippi only a year or two before the war. He was a well known staff officer in the Confederate army, having been assistant adjutant-general of the Army of Tennessee for the greater part of the war. He was thoughtful, considerate and popular. He was elected lieutenant-governor of Mississippi on Humphrey's ticket that defeated the constitution in 1868. He was a member of the Mississippi Press Association; he afterwards became secretary of State (January to September, 1878). He died in the yellow fever epidemic at Holly Springs in 1878.[21]

John B. Fant was one of Marshall's best citizens, having been a man of the greatest integrity. He was highly respected as a

[18]This information was obtained from *Confederate Military History,* VII, 244-246, and from the *Congressional Biographical Directory,* 1774 to 1903, 446.

[19]This information was given by Hon. H. C. Myers.

[20]This statement was made by Robt. Walker, of Holly Springs.

[21]These facts were obtained from an unidentified newspaper clipping in a scrap-book belonging to Mr. W. A. Anderson, of Holly Springs. See also the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* X, 234.

loyal Democrat, was president of the Board of Police from 1865 to 1869. Although he held no other office, his influence was largely felt throughout the county.

Colonel George B. Myers, brother of Henry C. Myers, was born in Anson County, North Carolina, in 1830, and came to Marshall County, Mississippi, in 1848. He was graduated from the University of North Carolina. His first service as a soldier was with the "sixty-day men" as first lieutenant. He later raised a company for the reorganized regiment. He was a brave and fearless soldier, and won the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He was advanced to the rank of colonel in 1865, but being then a prisoner, he never received his commission. He received several wounds, one of which caused the loss of his arm. He was elected circuit clerk in 1867, and, except for two years, when he was removed by the military governor, he held this office until his death in 1879.[22]

Colonel H. W. Walter was born in Ohio in 1819 of Virginia parentage. He came to Mississippi and taught school in Tippah County for a period of two years. He then obtained license to practice law, and located at Holly Springs. He possessed remarkable talents and indomnitable energy, and he acquired preëminence in his profession. He was intensely Southern in his principles, but as a Whig, he opposed secession. Yet he responded to the first call for troops, and returned from the war with the rank of colonel. He always counseled a conservative and dignified policy. While he was conspicuous in every public gathering, and while his opinion was deemed the criterion of propriety and expediency, he never held public office. His influence as a leader was marvelous. He was generous and magnanimous, and was spoken of as "the man of good deeds." He died of yellow fever in the epidemic of 1878. It was mainly through his exertions that the Mississippi Central Railroad, now the Illinois Central, was projected and pushed to completion.[23]

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[22] *Confederate Military History*, VII, 439-440. These facts were also corroborated by Mrs. Lucas, of Holly Springs.

[23] Goodspeed's *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi*, II, 974, 975; *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, X, 234. Mr. H. C. Myers also confirmed these statements.

Henry House was one of the few negroes who remained Democratic through the reconstruction period. Before the war he belonged to Mr. J. J. House, a citizen of Holly Springs. He was a house servant, and was taught to read and write by his mistress. He was a great stump speaker, and was at the head of a Democratic club of negroes at Holly Springs. After a torchlight procession in one of the campaigns, the Democrats, in appreciation of Henry's faithfulness and services, took up a collection and bought for him an excellent little home, about one and one-half miles from town.[24] Other Democratic negroes worthy of mention were Booker Aston, John Price, John Thompson, Hubbard Boggan and Wm. Hindman.

As Marshall had been a rich county, it was natural to suppose there would be many spoils for political adventurers during reconstruction. As a consequence, a large number of white Republicans were numbered among its postbellum citizens.

Among these were George M. Buchanan. He was born in Kentucky, but later went to Missouri, where he joined the Second Missouri Regiment, being a member of the same command to which Mr. H. C. Myers (mentioned elsewhere) belonged. Buchanan came to Marshall County after the war and allied himself with the Republican party. He aided Gill, a carpetbagger, to organize the negroes into clubs. He was appointed sheriff of Marshall County in July, 1870, and was elected to that office by a very slender majority in 1871. He filled this position until the election of 1875, when a Democrat was elected. He bought property in Holly Springs and Marshall County, and is at the present date one of her most progressive citizens, though he is in very feeble health. He never allied himself with the Democratic party after the days of reconstruction. No charges were ever made against him in his official capacity, however, he was disliked on account of his party affiliations.[25]

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[24]These facts were furnished by Isom Walker (colored).

[25]These facts were given by Mr. P. H. Wright, of Oxford, Mississippi; Mrs Lucas, of Holly Springs, and Mr. H. C. Myers, of Memphis, Tennessee.

Although a native of the State, B. D. Nabers was one of the bitterest Republicans in the county, and was one of the best debaters in the Radical ranks. He held the office of chancery clerk and his wife was postmistress at Holly Springs. He was a slave-holder before the war and lived probably in Tippah County. He ran for chancery clerk in 1871, but he was defeated by Walthall, the Democratic nominee. He was county attorney in 1874.

J. L. Burton was a native of the county, and belonged to a wealthy family before war. He was a Democrat prior to this struggle, and was a Confederate soldier, serving through the whole of the war. In the reconstruction period he became Republican treasurer (1872) of the county, and made a large amount of money, buying school warrants. It is charged that he worked in conjunction with G. M. Buchanan, the Republican sheriff. These warrants were procured at from sixty per cent to ninety per cent, and were later redeemed at par. As a result, persons who invested in them received a good return from their investment. Burton later became United States marshal.[26]

John Mahon, another native Confederate soldier, "turned" Republican before this period was over. His change in party affiliation was made presumably for office, as he was made deputy sheriff by Buchanan. But he did not take a very active part in public affairs, and therefore, exerted very little influence. An attempt was made to appoint him registrar of elections in 1871 to succeed Sigmin, another Republican whose ardor had somewhat cooled. But the Radicals could not force Sigmin to resign and Mahon never acted in this capacity. He was elected chancery clerk in 1874.[27]

Henry A. Cooper held the offices of mayor of Holly Springs and sheriff of Marshall County by Ames' appointment. He was a Republican, but did not affiliate with the extreme and rabid Radicals. He was not a bold, bad man by any means. His wife was

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[26]Thse statements were made by W. I. McGowan, of Holly Springs.
[27]Mr. H. C. Myers is authority for these statements.

an ardent Democrat, and seized every opportunity for showing her loyalty and devotion to the Democratic cause.[28]

D. W. C. Stearns was originally from Pennsylvania, but came to Mississippi from Memphis where he had been defeated in his race for prosecuting attorney of that city. He was appointed chancellor of the Holly Springs district in 1870. It was stated that "he was a very bitter Republican and South hater; he was also strictly under the control of the Radical leaders, and always carried out in his rulings whatever the 'powers that were' ordered him." However, in 1875, he used his influence for the Democrats. His brother-in-law, G. Wiley Wells, was a candidate for congress, and although a Republican, was supported by the Democrats in opposition to the regular Republican candidate, Albert R. Howe. Stearns was regarded as an unprincipled man. The Democrats disliked him because of his radical rulings and his Republican co-workers accused him of bribery, branding him as an infamous man. Specific charges were against his integrity, but these charges were not proved. He was charged with bribery by Bruce and Hill, the former of whom ran in opposition to Wells in 1873, and the latter was secretary of state at that time, and was closely connected with Bruce. It is only fair to state that they were accused of the same thing by other people; for Bruce cashed the legislators' warrants at full value, when these warrants had depreciated to sixty or seventy-five per cent.[29]

G. Wiley Wells was born in Livingston County, New York. He first entered Marshall County as United States attorney for the Northern District of Mississippi. He was a liberal Republican, and a fair-minded man. Wells was hated by some of his Republican brethren, because they regarded him as a "political Jesuit." James Hill (colored), Republican secretary of State from

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[28]On one occasion the Democrats were having a parade in Holly Springs, the members of the procession being decorated in colors. When this parade passed Mrs. Cooper's home, she brought out more colors, and tied a sash around the leader of the van.

[29]This information was obtained from a pamphlet *Ames' Impeachment*, and from Mr. H. C. Myers.

Holly Springs (1874-1878), stated that Wells had violated his promise of support to the Republican candidates, and that he had erased one name from the Republican ticket and substituted instead the name of a Democrat. Whether or not this statement is true has not been ascertained. He was also accused of having his brother-in-law, Stearns, buy votes for him in the election for the United States Senate in 1873. These accusations were made by Bruce, the negro sheriff from Bolivar County, who was Wells' opponent in this campaign, and who was the successful candidate. In 1875 Wells was supported in his race for congress by the Democrats, and was elected. He later removed from Marshall County to Los Angeles, California.[30]

The main carpetbagger and leader was Nelson G. Gill, who came to Marshall County from Illinois. He was a tall, spare-made man, and according to some reports was "very ugly." He was a great speaker, and would talk to the negroes for hours at a time. One old negro says, "no'm, don't 'member nothin' he said; he talk so long; yas'm, he talk so long." He was made postmaster soon after coming to the county. He and his wife later opened a negro school near Holly Springs. This was at first a private school, but later became a public school. He was a typical Westerner, but he was despised and condemned by the whites, as he preached and lived social equality. Gill had charge, for a part of the period, of the Freedmen's Bureau. He organized the negroes into Loyal Leagues and other political clubs, and instructed them how to vote. He was president of the board of supervisors, 1869-'71, and was a member of the legislature from 1871 to 1872, when many regularly elected Democratic representatives were refused seats by the Republican members, and from 1874 to 1875, when he served in conjunction with three of his black constituents in that body. On one occasion when Gill was making a speech in the legislative hall, Col. H. M. Street walked up to him, pulled his beard and shook

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[30] *Ames' Impeachment;* H. C. Myers; *Congressional Biographical Directory, 1774 to 1903, 873; Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* X, 136-144, 155, 160, 167.

him. Gill submitted as tamely as possible, no resentment of this insult being at all apparent in his face, manner, or conduct.[31] He ran for the office of sheriff in 1875, but was defeated by the Democratic nominee, Henry C. Myers.

After this election he went to Holmes County, where he became an ardent Democrat and took a leading part in local politics. He left the State in 1878, when the great negro hegira took place, going with a body of negroes to Kansas. He was last heard of in Los Angeles, California, where he was sheriff and again a Republican. Mrs. Gill was a Missouri woman, and was incorrectly thought by some people to be a mulatto. This mistake was probably due to the fact that she wore her hair cut short, and curled in tight little corkscrew curls all around her head. She was slightly deformed, as she had only one hand, the other being off at the wrist. Gill divorced her while they were living in Holly Springs, and then married her sister. It is not known what became of his first wife.[32] She was a teacher in Gill's school, and became an important factor in shaping the attitude and opinions of the negroes.[33] One summer she had a large number of photographs of herself made, and sold them to her pupils, requiring every pupil to take one at a cost of twenty-five cents each.[34]

Gill was at one time sergeant at arms of the lower house of the Mississippi legislature. His wife asked the colored people for a donation to pay his expenses until he could draw his salary.[35] He is said to have been an extreme Radical and a negro lover. When he became sergeant at arms he removed all the white pages and appointed negro boys in their stead. At

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[31]This incident was told by Dr. R. M. Leavell, of Oxford, Mississippi, who was a member of the legislature at the time and an eye-witness of the occurrence.

[32]This information was given by Mrs. L. A. Fant, of Holly Springs.

[33]See infra, p. ——.

[34]This information was given by Mrs. Rosa B. Tyler, of Holly Springs.

[35]This information was given by B. T. Phillips (colored). He also stated that Gill did not "beat" the negroes out of their money, adding that, "While Gill and I were both Republicans we were not friends." Phillips is a respectable carpenter, and is now (1911) living at Holly Springs.

a Democratic state convention, which met in Jackson soon after the removal of the white boys, resolutions were introduced, condemning Gill for his conduct. To the surprise of the convention, he arose from his seat in the gallery and told them very plainly that it was none of their business. Old Colonel LaBauve,[36] a grand old patriot from DeSoto County, sprang to his feet, shouting at the top of his voice, "Put that scoundrel out of here." The old carpetbagger never forgot the race he made from the Capitol with a mob in hot pursuit. But he got the start of the crowd and being fleet of foot escaped without any bodily injury.

Liberty C. Abbott, of Ohio, entered Marshall County in 1870. At the end of the war he held the rank of major in the Union army. He was fairly well educated, and soon gained recognition among his carpetbag colleagues, being made superintendent of education in 1871. He also held the offices of internal revenue guager, assistant internal revenue assessor, justice of the peace, county administrator, and assistant tax collector. Practically all of which were held at the same time. In 1874 he was appointed chancellor of the Holly Springs District, having been admitted to the bar only a few days before his appointment. Stearns had held this office, but Ames did not consider him for reappointment. Abbott also went to Holmes County and turned Democrat, but he did not take an active part in politics. This is the last we hear of him.[37]

Captain Sturgis was at the head of the Freedmen's Bureau upon its organization. He was one of the meanest and most contemptible men in the county. He listened to the slightest complaint of the negroes, and dragged prominent white citizens before his court upon the mere accusation of a dissatisfied negro. He had no principles of equity and honor; his rulings were in favor of the negroes and Radicals, unless influenced by a bribe or some personal consideration. It is said that he accepted bribes

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[36] See Saunders' "Life of Colonel Felix LeBauve" in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* VII, 131-141; also ibid., X, 296, 300, 305, 311, 312.

[37] *Ames' Impeachment;* Mr. H. C. Myers.

as "a mere matter of course," and pocketed the money with apparently no qualms of conscience.[38]

—— — McDonald, from Illinois, was one of the most disreputable of the carpetbaggers. He was an African Methodist preacher and a mechanic. He opened a negro school in Holly Springs in which he and his wife taught. He had all the most despicable traits of the other carpetbaggers combined with an unfailing good humor. No insult nor attack could arouse any anger in him whatsoever. He associated with the negroes on terms of social equality and aided them in their parades. He also aided Gill in the organization of the Loyal League. On one occasion he gave up his religious work long enough to run for the office of state senator, but was defeated. McDonald died in the county.[39]

B. W. Lee was another carpetbagger, but he played practically no part in politics. He was a kinsman of G. Wiley Wells, and was an inconsequential sort of fellow. He rode a very pretty horse, and seemed to have plenty of money. But when he failed to get office, he went elsewhere.[40]

H. R. Revels lived in Marshall County after 1873. He enjoys the distinction of having been the first negro to occupy a seat in the United States Senate. He was a preacher, and was known as "Parsons Revels." It is said that he was a fluent speaker and was liked by white and black alike. He wrote to President Grant (in 1875), telling him of the corrupt Republican practices, and asking for a change in the state administration. In June, 1876, Revels testified before the Boutwell Committee, and declared he still stood by that letter. He said:

"I believed then, as I do now, that certain imprudent men who called themselves Republicans had broken our party down, and after the defeat they rushed off to Washington and were trying to mislead the President and throw the blame on the pure Republican party and the innocent old white Republicans, both of whom I felt it my duty as a Christian man to defend."

Garner states in this connection that Revels was likely

[38]This information is given by W. I. McGowan and H. C. Myers.
[39]Mr. P. H. Wright, of Oxford, Mississippi, is the authority for these statements. Unfortunately McDonald's full name cannot be ascertained.
[40]Messrs. W. I. McGowan and H. C. Myers furnished this information.

prompted in some degree by personal prejudices, the governor having removed him from the presidency of Alcorn University[41]

Tyler Williamson, another negro leader, belonged to Gen. H. E. Williamson before the war, and was his body servant in the Confederate army. After the surrender, Tyler became a bitter Republican. He was a very turbulent leader and exceedingly impudent to the white people. He was finally killed by an Irishman on the square of Holly Springs.

Prior to the war, Mr. J. Hill lived on the Salem road, about two miles from Holly Springs. One of his slaves, James Hill, was taught by the two daughters of the family. He was the body servant, during the war, of his two young masters, John H. Hill and W. B. Hill. After war he became a Republican, and secured the office of secretary of state, which place he filled from 1874 to 1878. Although a Republican, he did not forget his former masters and mistresses; for at one time when some of the family were ill, he came to assist in caring for them. It is also stated that as the Hill family was in very straitened circumstances after the war, he gave them financial aid. He always went to see his young mistresses, who had married and lived in Holly Springs, every time he came to the town. He was exceedingly well thought of by the citizens, and is remembered as a good negro.

George Albright was a negro who was above an average in

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[41]Garner's *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 271. The following sketch of Revels is taken from the *Biographical Congressional Directory*, 1774 *to* 1903, 763:

"Revels, Hiram R., was born at Fayetteville, North Carolina, September 1, 1822; unable to obtain an education in his own native state, moved to Indiana and attended the Quaker Seminary in Union County; became a preacher; lectured among his people in the State of Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, and Missouri; preaching at Baltimore, Maryland, at the breaking out of the Civil War and assisted in the organization of the first two colored regiments in Maryland; taught school in St. Louis; went to Vicksburg and assisted in managing the freedmen affairs; organized churches and lectured; returned to Mississippi and located at Natchez; held various local offices; elected a United States senator from Mississippi, serving from February 25, 1870, to March 3, 1871; president of Alcorn Agricultural College, Rodney, Mississippi; moved to Richmond, Indiana, and became pastor of the African Methodist Episcopal Church; died January 16, 1901, at Aberdeen, Mississippi."

intelligence. He was a willing and eager tool in the hands of Gill, whose school he had attended. Whatever his political master ordered, George tried his utmost to carry out. He was a member of the state senate in 1874 and 1875, his name having been put on the ticket, it is said, at the instance of Mrs. Gill. George married one of Gill's teachers, Josephne Hardy, a Northern white woman. He had a wife belonging to his own race, but he divorced her in order to marry the Hardy woman.[42] After their marriage, they went to Mt. Pleasant, where he was indicted by the Federal grand jury for selling whiskey. He was imprisoned and fined $100. After this they went to Chicago, where their conduct was so disgraceful that they were compelled to leave the city. They then removed to Kansas. Nothing further is known of them.[43]

III. Organizations.

Military Forces.

A force of Federal troops consisting of three companies was stationed in Holly Spring in 1865. In 1866 this number was reduced to 162 men.[44] They occupied St. Thomas Hall (an Episcopal school for boys), which is located directly northeast of of the railroad. This battalion was under the Major Jno. Power. He was just and courteous and gentlemanly, and gained the respect and good will of the people. Lieutenant Newton, his subordinate, was very much disliked by the white people because he worked "hand in glove" with the Freedmen's Bureau. He made practically all the arrests for that department, and was very zealous in performing such acts. He arrested Mr. W. A. Jones, a citizen of Holly Springs, for no apparent cause. Mr. Jones remained in the guardhouse without any suggestion of trial until he was released by Major Power. Mr. J. I. House, a brother-in-law to Mr. Jones, met

[42]It was stated by negroes at the time that Albright hired a negro man to force his wife into a compromising position so that he could have some reason for securing a divorce.

[43]This information was given by Mrs. L. A. Fant.

[44]Garner's *Reconstruction in Mississippi,* 171.

Lieutenant Newton afterwards and gave him a sound beating with a loaded whip. He then went to Major Power and told him that Lieutenant Newton had insulted him and that he had taken the satisfaction of a gentleman. This statement to Major Power was evidently satisfactory because nothing further was done about it.[45]

Another citizen of the town, Mr. W. A. Anderson, lived near the camp. He had a fine melon patch, but his melons kept disappearing. One day he saw several soldiers going in the direction of his patch. He followed them and met them as they were returning, each with two melons under his arms. He stopped them so that he could identify them later. They protested that they found the melons lying outside the fence near the road. He went to Major Power and complained about the depredations upon his property, but he refused to identify the soldiers, as he did not care to have them punished. His melon patch was not molested again.[46]

The soldiers were removed for a portion of the time of Gillem's administration, but were later restored. In 1875 there was a garrison of 200 soldiers in Holly Springs. At this time there were only two other garrisons in the State, one at Vicksburg having 100 soldiers, and the other at Jackson consisting of 120 men.[47]

During Ord's administration, he interfered with civil proceedings, and tried various offences before military commissions constituted by himself. There were four cases of this interference in Marshall County. Two were cases of theft and two of assault on negroes. For the former the sentences were two and five years in the penitentiary, respectively, and for the latter, two and three years. No further information regarding these cases could be obtained.[48] Few cases were tried by military commission during Gillem's administration, and there was not any interference in Marshall County.[49] Although Ames inter-

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[45]This incident was related by Mr. W. I. McGowan, of Holly Springs.
[46]This incident is given on the authority of Mr. W. A. Anderson.
[47]*Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 391.
[48]Garner's *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 168.
[49]Ibid., 184.

fered more or less with civil authorities, he seems to have left the courts to exercise jurisdiction over criminal offences, except crimes against freedmen and Union men. A United States soldier was assaulted in that county and as punishment for the offence, two years imprisonment was the sentenced.[50] This offence was tried before a military commission.

Freedmen's Bureau.

A Freedmen's Bureau was established in Holly Springs in 1868, with Nelson G. Gill at its head. It was situated on the southeast side of the square. The negroes soon began flocking around this bureau. A Mrs. Clark, of Holly Springs, had a cook, whom she had owned before the war, to leave without warning. This negro reported to Mr. Gill, who went to Mrs. Clark, and told her if she desired the woman, he would make her return; also stating that he did not know how to dispose of all the idle negro women who gathered around his office. He intimated to her that he was quite willing to be paid for this favor to her, and did accept $2.50.[51]

Gill became interested in organizing the negroes into clubs. He was replaced by one Captain Sturgis as head of the bureau.

Sturgis made himself very obnoxious to the people by arresting and dragging before his tribunal persons for miles around on the mere accusation of a negro. After hearing the case, he meted out fines and punishments without regard to justice, or equity. In more than one case, he had white women brought before him, and this proceeding so angered the Democratic white men that they paid him a visit. Five prominent young men of the community, members of the Ku Klux Klan, dressed in the full regalia of the klan, went to his office one night, and warned him that the bringing of white women before the bureau must be stopped, or the klan would punish him accordingly. This warning was sufficient; for the women of the county were not molested again. No definite case of white women being sum-

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[50]Ibid., 236.

[51]This information was given by Mrs. Rosa B. Tyler, Holly Springs.

moned on the accusation of a negro could be obtained. However, it was stated from different authorities that such had been the case, and the women summoned belonged to some of the best families in the county.[52]

In one instance, Dr. Peel, a physician living about fifteen miles from Holly Springs, whipped a negro for some impertinence. He was forced to appear before the Freedmen's Bureau. Capt. Sam Frank, a Jew merchant of Holly Springs, called Captain Sturgis aside during the trial, and giving him a twenty dollar gold piece, asked for the pardon of Dr. Peel. Captain Sturgis decided for Dr. Peel, much to the latter's surprise, and Sturgis also advised that the next time a negro was impudent to him "not only to whip him but to wear him out." This favorable sentence was not explained until later, when Captain Frank made known the part he had played in the incident.[53]

The bureau, while probably right in theory, failed utterly in practice. It made the negroes idle and vicious by giving them a place of refuge where food was provided. The agent at Holly Springs reported to General Gillem that he had more applications for laborers than he could fill, and he declared that the laborers of his district had received all their wages for the preceding year, and not an instance of destitution had come to his notice.[54] If destitution existed among the negroes, it was due to their unwillingness to work. It was charged by the people that the officials rather hindered the making of contracts between the negroes and whites than assisted in it. The main trouble with the workings of the bureau was the extremely low character and morality of the men who were at the heads of the local offices.

Loyal League.

The Loyal League was an oath-bound society that was organized among the negroes for the double purpose of instructing them how to vote and of holding their vote solid for the Republi-

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[52]These statements are made on the authority of H. C. Myers and W. I. McGowan.

[53]W. I. McGowan related this incident to the writer.

[54]Garner's *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 193.

can party. Gill and McDonald, aided by the other Republican leaders, organized this club. It seems that the clubs in various neighborhoods were not known as Loyal Leagues but were given names according to their respective localities. The writer asked an old negro if he knew anything about the Loyal League, and she received this reply: "No'm, I don't know nothin' 'bout him, but I remember men lots older than him." It is stated that these clubs existed all over the county, in almost every thickly settled community, but the writer has only learned definitely of those at Holly Springs, Red Banks, Byhalia, Tallaloosa and Chulahoma.

The meetings of these clubs were held in various places. The Holly Springs club met generally at the home of Gill, or at the negro Baptist church there. At these meetings speeches and political harangues would be made. The negroes would be instructed how to proceed in voting. In these clubs, they were trained to form in line and parade the streets. They were always decorated with sashes and badges. Gill was always conspicuous in these parades. He would be mounted and with his red sash flying in the wind, would ride back and forth, urging and exhorting his "black army" onward.

There were two negro Democratic clubs in Marshall County. These were located at Holly Springs and Byhalia. Henry House, a negro, was at the head of the Holly Springs club, and Joe Thompson, also a negro, was secretary of the one at Byhalia. A small number of the negroes remained faithful to their old masters in politics as well as in other things. A few of these negroes took even a prominent part against the Radical rule, accounts of which are given elsewhere in this article.

In spite of the party lash, in 1875 many prominent leaders of the negroes, such as Revels, came out openly on the side of the whites. The *Jackson Clarion* of September 22, 1875, contained a long letter from Rev. J. G. Johnson (colored), of Holly Springs, advising his race to "join hands with the white people in redeeming from the spoiler our common country." "Since you were free," he said, "the whites have been friends to you; they have aided you when you were in trouble, and when death entered your households they have sympathized with you."

Ku Klux Klan.

The Ku Klux Klan was organized in Marshall County by Dr. W. M. Compton, who held the office of Grand Giant in the order. He was assisted in the organization of the dens by Henry C. Myers, who was a Cyclops. Mr. Myers states there were from fifteen to twenty dens in the county, but where these dens were located and who were leaders of same, the writer has been unable to ascertain.

The members of the klan wore the regulation disguise, which seems to have been black and red entirely. Their methods of operation were similiar to those employed in other counties. The oath taken at initiation was as follows:

"You do solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God and before this assembly of witnesses, that you will do the acts commanded of you by the commander of this Ku Klux Klan, outside of the civil law, so help you God."

The question put to the candidate when initiated was:

"What are the objects of the Ku Klux Klan?" Answer: "It is to suppress the negro and keep him in the position where he belongs, and to see that the Democratic party controls this country".[55]

The klan did not engage in breaking up schools and burning schoolhouses and in deeds of extreme violence.

One night, when the Loyal League was meeting at the home of Gill, some members of the klan concealed themselves under the house to listen to the proceedings and to kill Gill. It had fallen to the lot of Mr. J. L. Holland to shoot him while the meeting was in full session. When they decided that the proper time had arrived and just as Holland aimed the pistol at Gill, Mr. Jim House, who is described as being "tender-hearted and who couldn't bear to see him shot," knocked the pistol up and it went off in the air. It frightened the negroes very much. From

[55]This information was obtained from H. C. Myers, and the testimony of C. Wiley Wells before Boutwell's Committee, p. 1157.

this time pickets were stationed outside to guard the house during their meetings.[56]

There was a great deal of talk about killing Gill, and on another occasion, a Texan, who was passing through the county offered to commit the deed for $500. The money was made up for him, but the contributors grew fearful of the Texan's ability to do it, and then keep the secret, so the money was never delivered to him.[57]

In the neighborhood of Tyro, a negro, Dan Lee, was very insolent to his former master, A. M. Lee. The klan in that neighborhood called upon the negro and administered a sound whipping.[58] In Boutwell's Report one case of whipping is reported, but it was regarded of so little importance that not even the negro's name, offence, or any circumstances connected with the occurrence were given. This case is probably that mentioned above, as they agree in point of time, the whipping occurring in 1868.

Although seemingly inactive, "The Klan" was a name to conjure with. An amusing incident is told relative thereto by a resident of Holly Springs. Mr. J. J. House, a native Democrat, had a little difficulty with N. G. Gill. Mr. House had threatened to kill Gill and had followed him until he took refuge in the house of a friend. Mr. House then wrote and signed a note giving him twenty-four hours to leave the county. He related this affair to some of his lawyer friends in Holly Springs, who strongly advised him to get possession of this signed note, telling him he would probably have trouble on account of it. Mr. House went back to Gill to secure the note, and threatened him with a visitation from the Ku Klux if the note were not returned immediately. Gill promptly returned it.

Another evidence of activity among the klansmen was the rescuing of an ex-Confederate major from prison in Holly Springs. This man had committed some offense in Tennessee and had been arrested and brought to Holly Springs for trial.

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[56]This information was given on good authority, but the name is withheld by request.

[57]This statement was made by Mr. P. H. Wright.

[58]Ibid.

The people knew that certain death awaited him, as he was to be tried before a military court. They, therefore, broke into the jail, and carried him off to a place of safety.[59] Another important deed of the klan was the disarming of the negroes. This was a well-planned scheme, and on the same night, the divisions of the klan all over the county visited the negroes and gathered up all the arms that they could find. This was indeed a protection to themselves, as the possession of firearms by the negroes was a constant menace to the welfare and the safety of the homes of the white citizens.[60]

The testimony of the Marshall County citizens (both witnesses being Republican) before Boutwell's Committee agrees that whites and blacks alike were quiet and orderly in comparison with other counties. The following is an article which appeared in Appleton's *Cylclopaedia:*

"At a meeting of white and colored citizens at Holly Springs, in Marshall County, which was represented to be one of the most disorderly districts in the State, the following declaration was formally made:

"'We, the citizens of Marshall County, white and colored, in convention assembled this day in the city of Holly Springs, do declare:

"'That, since the close of the war, as little crime has been committed by the population of this county as for any like period of our history; that lawless acts have had but little existence among us; that no organized bands of whites for any political or unlawful purpose exist among us, so far as we know and believe; that our population have manifested a love of order and a respect and veneration for law equal to any community of any nation; that for many consecutive weeks in 1868 no peace officer or other officer was found in our county and that no process whatever, either civil or criminal, could have been issued, and yet during this period not a violation of law of even the most petty character was perpetrated in the county; and finally that we believe no greater amount of crime has been committed in this State than has marked other communities of equal numbers in any State in the Union.

"'We deem this declaration justified in view of the many slanders heaped on our State, and for our county, we denounce them as baseless and criminal.

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[59]Mrs. Lucas and W. I. McGowan, of Holly Springs, related these incidents to the writer.

[60]This information was given by Rev. Ben C. Gray, of Holly Springs. He was a member of the klan and took part in disarming the negroes. He states that the den to which he belonged was under the leadership of Lieutenant E. H. Crump, and that on this particular occasion, none of the members were masked or disguised in any way. There were some threats made to the negroes to frighten them and make them produce any arms that they had hidden away, but no corporal punishment of any kind was resorted to.

"'Any introduction of military force in the county, to enforce the law, would not only be useless, but an arbitrary, tyrannical act. Should any unlawful acts be committed hereafter in the county, our citizens are able and willing to enforce the laws through the civil authorities.'"[61]

IV. Government.

The board of police for 1865, as shown by the minutes of the board, was composed of John B. Fant, Jas. H. Alexander, I. B. Ownings, G. W. Ogilvy, and Richard D. Jones.[62] John B. Fant was president and served continuously in this capacity until the appointments made by Ames in 1869. He was a loyal Democrat, a strictly honest man, and a highly respected citizen. The other members of the board were Democrats and honest men. The board for 1866 were practically the same as that of the preceding year, and while two changes had been made in its personnel, the new members were as staunch and conservative Democrats as their predecessors. For 1867, Mr. Fant was president, and the other members were Wm. K. Hinton, M. A. Hancock, G. E. Higginbotham, and R. B. West. This board continued until Ames' appointments in 1869. The per diem of the sheriff for attendance on the board was $2, that of clerk $3, while the police drew $3 and mileage. In 1868, however, the per diem of the policemen was raised to $5 and mileage. The greatest number of appropriations made by these boards were made for the support of paupers and the building of bridges. There seems to have been a large number of paupers in the county, most of whom were freedmen. There was a Freedman Pauper Fund; there was also a poorhouse; for in 1868, it was "ordered that the board of paupers at the poorhouse be reduced to $8 per month for board alone."[63] There were also amounts paid to private individuals for the support of paupers. N. G. Gill was allowed $10 per month for "the care and board of Dorcas, a freed woman pauper until said pauper is otherwise disposed of."

In 1869 Ames appointed N. G. Gill, Eli Buchanan, Wm. J.

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[61] Appleton's *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1871, 522, Article on "Mississippi."
[62] Minute Book, 1865, 57.
[63] Minute Book, 1868, 139.

Williams, and I. C. Burrow, but he made no appointment for District No. 2. Gill was president of the board and held this office until 1872. All the members were Republican. In this year the contract was let for building the courthouse. The old courthouse had been burned by Grant while he made the town of Holly Springs his headquarters in 1862. The county used the Methodist church for a courthouse until 1867, when the police board and the Masonic lodge bought a house and lot jointly, which house was used as a courtroom and lodge-room combined. In 1865 J. W. C. Watson and H. W. Walter were appointed by the board as a committee to "memorialize congress in reference to the destruction of the courthouse and to obtain aid if possible from the United States government for rebuilding same, promising said courthouse when built could be used by the United States government for its courts and having its offices therein."[64] As no aid was forthcoming from this source, the courthouse was built by a direct tax levy upon the people. The cost of its erection was $25,000 and John B. Fant was appointed by the board to superintend the construction of said building. In 1871 a tax of one mill was levied for the erection of an iron fence around the court yard.[65]

In 1872 a Conservative board, with J. T. Brown as president, came into power, and this board with only one change was continued for 1873. In 1874 the board was composed of three negroes, one Radical, who believed in social equality and lived up to his professions, and one Conservative. None of these negroes could read nor write.[66] They continued in office until the election of 1875, when the Democrats were victorious and threw off Radical rule.

The first reference to a county attorney on the minute books was made in 1869 after Ames' appointments, and Henry M. Paine held this office. In 1874 B. D. Nabers was the county attorney and drew a salary of $35 per month.

John R. McCarroll was sheriff in 1865, and continued in office

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[64]Minute Book, 1865, 57.
[65]Minute Book, 1871.
[66]Garner's *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 309. See also Appendix A.

until 1869. He stood well with the citizens of his county and was an influential Democrat. Henry A. Cooper was appointed by Ames to this office and held his appointment for one year. He was succeeded in July, 1870, by G. M. Buchanan, who was also appointed by Ames. Buchanan was elected in 1871, and remained in office until the election of 1875, at which time a Democrat was elected.

B. W. Walthall, father of Gen. E. C. Walthall, was clerk of the board from 1865 to 1869. He was succeeded by D. C. Colkins, who in turn was succeeded by B. D. Nabors in 1871. These latter men were both Republicans, and served with the Radical boards. Mr. Walthall again became clerk in 1872 and served throughout the remainder of the reconstruction period.

George B. Myers was circuit clerk in 1866. He was removed in 1869, but was elected in 1872, and served in this capacity until his death in 1879. In the interim of two years, the office was filled by G. A. Dunn and W. L. Bledsoe.

The government of the county was administered in a very equitable manner throughout the period. As far as the minute books in themselves show, there were no fraudulent contracts, nor is there remembrance of any in the minds of the old residents. The warrants and amounts of same ordered to be issued by the Republicans during their administration were seemingly as innocent and just as those of the Democrats. The only complaint that could be made against the Republicans is that of extravagance. New schoolhouses were built at a high figure, when there were plenty of other houses which would have answered the purpose, and which could have been bought for $250 or $400, or rented very cheaply.[67] A carpet for the courtroom, costing $403.89, could have been dispensed with while the county was in such a depleted condition.

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[67]Testimony E. E. Holman, Boutwell, report on *The Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States* (Sen. Rept. No. 41, pt. 12, 42d Cong. 2d Ses.), 353.

V. Campaigns and Elections.

In preparing for the election to accept or to reject the constitution of 1868, D. C. Colkins was appointed to take the returns and records of his board of registration to headquarters.[68] There were two other members on this board of registration, whose names are not known. In a letter written June 9, 1868, to his superior officer at Vicksburg, Maj. John Power, inspector of elections and commander of the Federal troops at Holly Springs, says:

"I have the honor to report that I have this day visited the board of registration for this county (Marshall) and on close inquiry and examination, find such board fully qualified for the duties assigned them."[69]

Polls were ordered to be kept open two days at Holly Springs, and three polls were ordered to be provided, one for white voters, and two for the colored voters.[70] According to the reports of the election commissioner, there was much violence and intimidation at this election in Marshall County, and many, both white and colored, were prevented from voting as they wished.[71] There were about 1,000 registered voters in Holly Springs; the whites had a majority of a little less than a hundred in the county. The majority against the constitution was three or four hundred. Judge J. W. C. Watson testified before Boutwell's Committee that the election at Holly Springs "was as fair a one as was ever held, at least on the part of the opponents of the constitution; to the extent that intimidations and threatening were used it was in favor of the constitution." As an illustration, Judge Watson stated that a freedman, Stephen Watson, who had been his slave, came to him a few days before the election, and told him he did not want to do anything that Judge Watson would not like, but he believed if he voted against the constitution, the negroes would drive him out of town. He was living in a house furnished him, rent free, by Judge Watson. Judge Watson told him if he voted for the constitution that he

[68]Evidence taken by the Committee on Reconstruction published in a report entitled, "Condition of Affairs in Mississippi," House Mis. Doc. No. 53, 40th Cong., 3d Ses.
[69]Ibid., 121
[70]Ibid., 73, 89-90.
[71]Ibid., 256.

would regard it as an unfriendly act; that he could not look upon any one as his friend who would vote to take away from him privileges which were to be given all colored persons. Stephen voted for the constitution, and he later said that he feared the negroes would drive him away or beat him if he voted against it.[72]

It was stated that in an election (date unknown) the whites, although disfranchised, made an attempt to win by buying the votes of their former slaves. They gave barbecues and picnics to the negroes all over the county, and made speeches to them. Some of the negroes who attended these gatherings wore oil-cloth caps with red feathers in them, which caps, they said, were insignia of the Republican party. Most of the negroes promised to vote the Democratic ticket, and the whites felt confident of victory. On election day, however, the vote went overwhelmingly Republican. The whites were very much chagrined and found they must rely on something more stable than a negro's promises. One negro was promised a barrel of flour to vote the Democratic ticket. He received his barrel, but when he opened it, he found it contained nothing but ashes.[73]

Both parties made use of torchlight processions. The negro processions, sometimes a mile long, would parade through and around the town of Holly Springs. They wore red sashes and enormous red and blue badges. They would carry flaming torches, and transparencies covered with obscene pictures of the white people, particularly of the Democratic candidates. These transparencies were of different sizes, sometimes being from ten to twelve feet long. The negroes would also try to go through forms of drill, and would march in daylight to the music of horn and drum, through the principal streets of the town. In these daylight processions they sometimes used floats. In one of these floats, they had a stump of a tree, on the projecting branches of which opossums were placed. A huge negro

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[72]Testimony of Judge J. W. C. Watson, in ibid., 297.

[73]The authority for the above statement is Isom Walker (colored). He says he voted the Democratic ticket and always went with "His white folks."

stood by the tree and sang as loudly as he could, as they passed through the street: "Carve that 'possum, nigger, carve him to the heart," and sharpening his knife, he sang the next chorus, which was:

"Carve that white man, nigger, carve him to the heart."

These negro processions would stop before the house of the white candidates and yell, and make themselves generally offensive. In some cases, they were known to throw stones at the white people standing in their own yards as the procession passed. Generally the homes of the people were closed at the times of these processions, and not a white face was in sight anywhere. The Democrats were fighting for a foothold, and they paraded on as large a scale as possible, and gave a commanding show of their party strength, to counteract the influence of the Radicals. They used the torches and transparencies, many of which were painted by Mrs. Arthur B. Fant for that purpose, and on one occasion they secured a coffin and formed Gill's funeral procession with great pomp and ceremony. These processions took place during each campaign.[74] There was also a great deal of speaking during these campaigns, and the excitement on such occasions often reached fever heat, but invariably it subsided without the loss of life. On one occasion, the Republicans had arranged a very extensive program. About ten speakers had been provided to address the negroes, and Gill was the last speaker on the list. The speaking took place in the center of the square at Holly Springs, where a stand had been erected for the occasion.[75] Col. Geo. B. Myers accompanied by Henry Dancy and a few others went over to hear Gill's speech. None of them were armed. Gill made a false statement, and Colonel Myers, without any thought of consequences, jumped on the platform and declared it to be a lie, and struck Gill. Mr. Dancy and others ran to the assistance of Colonel Myers (who had only one arm), and a little battle with sticks and brickbats ensued. Mr. Dancy threw a brickbat at one of the

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[74]This information was given by Mrs. Rose B. Tyler and Mrs. L. A. Fant, both of Holly Springs.

[75]There was no courthouse there, as it had been destroyed in 1862.

men on the platform, and it broke his leg. Things were quieted down by the presence of armed white men from the stores around the square. The injured man was taken to Dr. Compton's drug store to have his leg set. Mr. Dancy was immediately informed that this man had reported him, and he left town for a short time. Several men were wounded, but no one was seriously injured. These events occurred in the summer of 1869. There was an amusing incident connected with this affair. Mr. J. T. Fant, a citizen of Holly Springs, who was afterwards district attorney and circuit judge, looked around for a weapon with which to defend himself. He seized upon the wooden leg of a negro, who was on the platform, and was making desperate efforts to unbuckle it when order was restored.

An account of this incident is given by Flournoy in Boutwell's Report as follows:

"At Holly Springs there was a very large assemblage of negroes, some 3,000 or 4,000. After I had concluded my speech and while Captain Gill was speaking a mob assaulted the speakers and broke Captain Clarke's leg. Captain Clarke was our candidate for Commissioner of Public Schools. He was struck down on the stand. Gill was also struck with a knife, and his clothes were cut, and I think he got a slight wound."[76]

Before Benton County was formed, there was a gathering at Lamar which was then in the eastern part of Marshall County. Col. Van H. Manning, the Democratic candidate for Congress, spoke. He had challenged B. D. Nabers, one of the best Republican debators, to meet him on the stump, but Nabers had refused. Why Nabers refused is not known, but it is stated that he ranked much higher as a debater before a crowd of negroes than did Colonel Manning. After Manning had finished his speech and had gone to dinner, it was reported that Nabers was addressing the negroes and abusing Manning. Manning came within hearing distance of the speaker, and finding that the report was true, he drove up to the little improvised stand, caught Nabers by the collar, and began whipping him with a

[76]Testimony of Robt. W. Flournoy before Boutwell's Committee found in House Mis. Sen., No. 53, 40th Cong., 3d Ses., 23-24. Flournoy was a Georgian, but had lived in Mississippi twelve years. He was, by his admission, "a considerable sort of a negro man," and talked with the negroes wherever he went.

buggy whip. A stampede followed, during which Manning was forced back into his buggy by his friends and was driven off. No one was seriously injured.

Gov. J. L. Alcorn debated against Col. L. Q. C. Lamar one night at the courthouse at Holly Springs. Alcorn attacked, in his speech, the Ku Klux Klan pretty fiercely. He was interrupted by Manning, who accused him of having a Ku Klux organizer within his ranks. This was a reference to Dr. W. M. Compton. Governor Alcorn strenuously denied the charge and demanded witnesses. Men all over the house were on their feet, and H. C. Myers, who was closely allied with Dr. Compton in organizing the Ku Klux, had jumped on a table in order to make himself heard, when the lights were blown out. No one was able to do any thing in the darkness, so the meeting was broken up, and again no blood was shed.[77]

McDonald (the carpetbag preacher who was running for the office of State senator) debated against Dr. W. F. Hyer, a young practitioner at Tyro. On this occasion, Felix Cole walked up to McDonald in the presence of the crowd, and said: "You look like one of those d— rascals that stole our horses." This statement had no effect on McDonald, however, for his good nature and geniality were such that he could not be disturbed.

After the speaking was over, McDonald approached Mr. Haltam, a prominent man of the neighborhood, and asked him if he knew where he could secure a lodging place for the night. Mr. Haltam told him that his negro overseer, Frank, might be able to accommodate him. McDonald replied in his high falsetto voice that he didn't stay with negroes. A Mr. Faulkner directed him to the home of Mr. Mabry, an intellectual man, but of a rather retiring disposition, who lived about seven miles distant in DeSoto County. Mabry kept him for the night, but was very much disgusted later to find that he was a carpetbagger. The next year (1873), McDonald spoke at Watson, in the western part of Marshall County. Two young men had gone there from Tate County for the purpose of provoking him to some statement or act for which they could horsewhip him. They even

[77]These incidents were related by Mr. H. C. Myers.

tore off part of his coat-tail, but seemingly he resented none of their taunts nor insults. The Democrats hired an old negro to debate against McDonald, and they drilled him for his part. He was instructed what questions to ask him, and how to proceed with his speech.[78]

Major Jno. Power, who was at the head of the Federal troops in Holly Springs, was rather in sympathy with the Democrats. The Democrats hired the military band to go around with them to make music at their gatherings. The United States government deposed Power for a time, but he was later restored.

Just before the election of 1875, Judge J. W. C. Watson, in company with several preachers of Holly Springs, approached the Democratic leaders and requested that there be no fraud connected with the election. He was very much in earnest with his plea, but when he was told that "we would have to resort to fraud or else continue under negro domination," his reply was:

"Well, we shan't have any more negro rule."[79]

In an election, probably that of 1871, the Tyro and Chulahoma boxes were combined, and the polls were opened in a room at the back end of a store at Chulahoma. The negroes used much ceremony in voting. Many would ride to the polls four abreast, and if they possessed no horse, mule, or other animal which they could ride, they borrowed from the more fortunate ones who had already voted. As the negro majority in this district was very large the Democrats were forced to resort to fraudulent means. In the room where the election was held there was a bed; for the room was used as the sleeping apartment of the clerk in the store. While the voting was going on, Mr. Jas. Alexander, a loyal Democrat, and, at one time, a member of the board of police, hid himself under this bed and the covering was arranged in such a way as effectually to shield him from view. At six o'clock the polls were closed, and the judges went

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[78]These facts were given by Mr. P. H. Wright, of Oxford. Mr. Wright was a native of Marshall county until the formation of Tate county in 1873, his home being in that portion of Marshall which was given to the new county.

[79]This information was furnished by Mr. H. C. Myers.

to supper, securely locking and barring this room. While they were away, Mr. Alexander opened the box, and taking out a large number of the Republican votes, replaced them with Democratic votes which he had concealed on his person. When the judges returned, several people came in to hear the counting, and in the crowd Mr. Alexander managed to crawl from under the bed unobserved. The Democrats had the majority when the votes were counted. The box, from Wall Hill, which is in the western part of the county, was stuffed on its way to Holly Springs. How this was managed the writer has been unable to learn.[80]

In 1871 Ben Phillips (colored) and Frank Sigmin represented the Republicans and H. C. Myers the Democrats on the board of registrars. Mr. Myers refused to qualify any young negro unless he brought reliable evidence as to his age. The negro registrar, Phillips, made a complaint in a very insolent manner, but he was subdued by narrowly escaping a blow on his head with a chair. He continued to serve on the board, but he did not again assume a dictatorial attitude. The white people of the county refused to entertain or associate with Sigmin on account of his affiliations with the Republican party. Sigmin, who was an old citizen of the county, felt his ostracism rather keenly, and Mr. Myers, observing such feeling, made use of it. He took Sigmin with him wherever he was entertained in the different parts of the county, in return for which kind attention Sigmin allowed him to appoint all the judges of the election. When these appointments were made known, the Republican board appointed another registrar to succeed Sigmin. Messrs. Myers and Sigmin, and the negro were registering the voters at Tallaloosa when the new appointee, Douglass, a carpetbagger, came out to relieve Sigmin. The latter refused to surrender his place, and Douglass left, declaring he would yet secure the place.

Men gathered in Holly Springs the next morning. Buchanan, the sheriff, invited Myers to come into his office, where B. D. Nabers and N. G. Gill were waiting for him. When Myers entered the office, Buchanan locked the door. The board then

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[80]The above information was given by Mr. P. H. Wright.

began making complaints in regard to the registration. Some friends of Mr. Myers, knowing he was in the office and fearing he was in trouble, forced the lock. No blood was shed, but excitement ran extremely high. Myers refused to accede to the request of the Radicals, who threatened him. Kinloch Falconer went to Sardis and got out a writ of injunction against them before Chancellor Simmons. The chancellor of the Holly Springs district, Stearns, refused to issue such a writ. The registrars with six armed followers set out that morning to qualify the voters at Red Banks. Sigmin's friends and relatives were indignant over his treatment by the Republicans, and they joined themselves, but against his protest, to Myer's party. John Mahon and Douglass had been sent out by the Radicals to register the voters, and they were accompanied by Thomas Mull, a rather dangerous man, as deputy with instructions to prevent the existing board of registrars from qualifying the people. A large crowd of negroes was waiting a short distance from Red Banks, and they fell into line with Mr. Myers and his commission. When the crowd that had collected around Mahon and Douglass saw this new column approaching, they all ran except Thomas Mull, who threatened to arrest them. But they paid no attention to him. Ben Phillips came up and asked to be readmitted. Capt. Billy Jones, marshal of Holly Springs, was appointed deputy by Myers and Sigmin, and they began the task of registering the people who were admitted in parties to the registration booth. Mull, having in the meantime, seen that Myers and his party were in command, asked for admission, with the assurance that he would be on their side. To make good this declaration upon being readmitted, he proceeded to knock three negroes senseless who happened not to conform to his ideas of political and social etiquette. His zeal was quieted, however, and from that time he performed the duties of deputy in a quiet manner. Captain Jones returned to Holly Springs where he was needed, as excitement was rife there. About thirty whites and two hundred negroes were registered at Red Banks that day.

In the election which followed, Burton got out the tickets while Gill delivered them. The Democrats had a detective

employed to watch the movements of Burton and Gill, and to ascertain if possible the shape, color, and design of the Republican ticket. Burton went to Memphis and pretended to give the order for printing tickets to a house at that place. He then went to St. Louis and gave the real order. But he had been closely followed by the detective, who learned that the color of the ticket ordered at St. Louis was to be bright red. The detective returned with this information, and the Democrats felt sure that their tickets would be identical with those of the Republicans. Burton, however, had been too sharp for the detective, for he went to another place and had a tiger put on the back of his tickets. This was not discovered by the Democrats until the day before the election. They bought a ticket from a negro, and took it to Mrs. Arthur B. Fant,[81] whose husband was chairman of the Democratic committee. She carved an image of a tiger out of wood. The Democrats worked all night and by nine o'clock the next morning their tickets had been distributed all over the county. The Republicans did not discover the fraud until the election was over, and then it was noticed that the tiger ran up the Democratic tickets, while he ran down the Republicans, but this was not disclosed when the tickets were folded up. The Democrats elected every county officer except the sheriff. Buchanan was elected to this office by fraud, it is charged, on the part of John D. Williams, the challanger at the Byhalia box, who although professing to be a Democrat, scratched out General Vaughan's name and replaced it with Buchanan's. This passed unnoticed until almost the close of the election, when attention was called to it by Joe Thompson, secretary of the negro Democratic club at Byhalia. Two hundred and five votes had been received at this box, one hundred and five of which were for Buchanan, and Buchanan's majority in the county was twenty-three votes.

The Democrats elected all four of their candidates for the legislature in this election (1871), but when the legislature met,

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[81]Mrs. Fant took an active interest in public affairs during this period. She is now a member of the faculty of the Mississippi Synodical College at Holly Springs.

it refused to allow seats to J. H. Tucker, and E. H. Crump, declaring that they had been illegally elected. Their places were given to N. C. Gill, a carpetbagger, and James Hill (colored). Mr. Crump ran for senator on the the Republican ticket in 1873, but was defeated by George Albright, a negro.[82] Mr. Crump had been a lieutenant in the Confederate service, and was also leader of the Hudsonville den of Ku Klux.[83]

In 1873 the Radicals were overwhelmingly victorious, and Republicans were placed in all the county offices. This election sent a negro (George Albright) to the State senate, and three other negroes to the house of representatives. It also placed three illiterate negroes on the county board of supervisors. It is stated that in this election fraud was perpetrated by G. Wiley Wells, who erased the name of G. M. Buchanan, the Republican candidate for sheriff, and substituted that of G. M. Govan, the Democratic candidate. It is further stated that he imposed this tampered ticket on a large number of ignorant negroes and polled a large number of votes for Govan. Be that as it may, Buchanan was elected with a majority of 1,303. These statements were made at the time by Republicans who believed Mr. Wells was bolting their party to gain the favor and support of the Democrats.

The State issues of this election (1873) hinged on the proposed amendments to the sixth and eighth articles of the constitution which prohibited the State from paying or assuming any obligation on account of the Union atnd Planters Bank bonds;[84] for the distribution and expenditures of the common school fund; for the division of the State into a convenient number of chancery court districts. Two votes were registered for these amendments, and 1,990 against them. There seemed to be no local issues in this election.

In 1875 the political issues were on these same amendments, and in this election they were adopted. The Democrats were

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[82]This information was given by Messrs. H. C. Myers and John Calhoun, the latter of whom was a member of the legislature in 1872 and 1873.

[83]Information given by Rev. Ben C. Gray, Holly Springs, Mississippi.

[84]See Campbell's "Repudiation of the Union and Planters Bank Bonds" in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* IV, 493-497.

victorious, and Marshall County threw off Radical rule forever. There was a registered negro majority of 1,500. Two of the registrars, William R. Todd, and H. McCorkle, were Republicans, and all the officers at the polls were Republicans, but the Democrats gained a fair victory. W. R. B. Hill was the Democratic registrar, and the following resolution of thanks was tendered him after the election:

"*Resolved,* That the thanks of the Democratic Conservative Club of this city, on behalf of the Conservative party of this county, be given W. R. B. Hill, Esq., of the Board of Registrars for the vigilence, fidelity, and zeal he displayed in the discharge of his duties as their representative on the Board of Registrars during the late canvass."

H. E. Williamson,
Chairman.

Watson & Croft, *Secretaries.*

Gill had the negroes organized into political and military clubs throughout the county, and on election days it was his custom to deliver tickets to them at the gate opening into the courtyard at Holly Springs. He would have a large goods box placed by the gate, and his tickets in a carpetbag on it. He would pass the negroes through the gate in little companies of ten and deliver the Republican tickets to them for voting. Upon the advice of the Republican leaders, the negroes generally went to the county-seat where they might vote in a body with less likelihood of being interfered with it. On this particular election day, Henry C. Myers, who was the Democratic candidate for sheriff, had a goods box placed at the opposite side of the gate entering the courtyard, and he stationed there two Democratic negroes, who had remained loyal and faithful, Booker Aston and John Price, to deliver the Democratic tickets. This worked like magic, and by afternoon the negroes were swarming about this side of the gate, leaving that of Gill practically deserted. The Democrats won by a considerable majority. The Republican tickets were a reddish purple with a United States flag and the figure 1 on the back; those of the Democrats were white. The negroes had no difficulty in distinguishing between them. The Radicals leaders left the county after this election, and it has since that time been under Democratic control. Some of the post election fun was an account of a supposed concert given by the pas-

sengers of Howe's vessel Planchette when it had reached Soarheadville immediately after the election of 1875. This account appeared in the last issue of the Grenada *Republican,* and the program here given is the part rendered by Gill, Abbott and Hatch, the last of whom was trying to get the position of postmaster at Holly Springs.

Introductory Overture.....Hatch

I want to be a postmaster,
And in the office stand,
With money orders in my hat,
Licking stamps for Uncle Sam.

Stag Dance, with song.....Nelson G.

O, here I am, as you may see,
All I want is to be a deputee.

Nocturne, Air Captain Jenks.....Abbott

I'm a wonderful man of Signet fame,
Minus every thing else but a wonderful name.
"Liberty or Death" is my battle-cry,
But I back right down when they say I lie.

Soliloquy .....Abbott

"Toba" or not "Toba," that's the question—whether 'tis nobler to call myself Liberty C. or sacrifice myself as Chancellor at $2,500 a year. For who can bear that constitutional amendment? Not I. I'd rather suffer as Chancellor, and bear the contempt and contumely of a honest community than fly to evils that I know not of.

The racial difficulties in Marshall County did not take the shape of riots, but were of a petty character. However, some of then resulted in a loss of life.

Jim Millaney, an Irishman and an ex-Confederate, was attacked on the streets of Holly Springs by a crowd of negroes, who were about to cut and beat him to pieces during a negro pow wow. Two white men, T. M. Caldwell and H. C. Myers, ran to Millaney's rescue; the former was knocked down, but the latter fired into the group and hit one negro, Tyler Williamson. The negroes scattered, and Millaney was taken to a place of safety. In a few minutes a guard of Federal soldiers came along with the wounded negro, and he pointed out Mr. Caldwell, who

was standing in the doorway of a store, as the man who had shot him. Caldwell denied this, but stated he would have shot if he had had a gun of any kind. The guard passed on without making any arrest. A negro barber had seen the whole affair and knew that Mr. Myers had fired the shot. He was visited by some friends of Myers, and dire threats against his safety were made if he dared to divulge what he had seen. He never told and no arrests were made. Some weeks later, Millaney was sitting in a store on the square of Holly Springs when Tyler Williamson shot at him, but missed him. Tyler ran then with Millaney in close pursuit across the square of the town. Millaney fired several shots at him, and finally killed him. He breathed his last in front of the building now known as Knott's store. Lieutenant Newton, with a squad of soldiers, made a long search for Millaney, but as the latter "hid out" he was never captured. It was not known why the negroes made the attack on Millaney, but as he had been overseer on the plantation of a Mr. Gatewood prior to the war, it was supposed that he had incurred their hatred at that time. Millaney was a most dangerous, bad man, and a year or two afterwards, "died with his boots on," after having killed several men. Capt. Bill Forrest, brother of General Forrest, once said that Jim Millaney was the only man he was afraid of.

VI. Educational Conditions.

In March, 1846, the first statute in Mississippi for a uniform and general system of schools was passed by the legislature. But the consent of a majority of the heads of families in the various townships was required in order to make it effective in each locality. This proved to be an unsatisfactory arrangement, and in 1848, other acts, which provided for four different schemes of educational management in thirty-five counties of the State, were passed, while the remaining counties were still under the application of the old law. Other special acts, passed year by year, rendered the school system more com-

plicated and less effective. Hence the schools were crippled by the want of a vigorous and uniform policy.[85] However defective the public school system proved to be, the larger towns had established very efficient systems of public graded schools before the war.[86]

Higher education was also fostered in Marshall County prior to the War of Secession. St. Thomas Hall was located at Holly Springs in 1844, under the auspices of the Episcopal church, and under the headship of Dr. Francis Hawks. This school turned out many men who later gained distinction, such as: Walthall, Mott, Chalmers, Autry, Govan, Clayton, Barton, Harris, Dunlap, Falconer, etc. The Holly Springs Female Institute was established soon after the incorporation of the town, and exerted an active and effective educational influence until the outbreak of the war. The University of Holly Springs was chartered in 1839, but it was scarcely equal to a good grammar school. It withered into decay under the shadow of the State university after its establishment at Oxford in 1844[87] Other places in the county noted for their excellent schools were Chulahoma, Byhalia, Lamar, etc.

The Southern people would have worked out their own school system, and would more than probably have established a system of schools for the negroes, had not the carpetbaggers forestalled their plans. It was announced in the *Hinds County Gazette* that a school for the benefit of colored children was in operation at Holly Springs, and was under the superintendence of Judge Watson, and that Hon. Kinloch Falconer, formerly secretary of State, was one of the teachers.[88]

The present school system of the State was introduced by the reconstruction constitution which went into operation in 1869. This school system was opposed by the whites,—not that they objected to the system as unfeasible in itself, but that it was a system forced on them by outsiders, and with little regard shown for the depleted condition of the county. The school

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[85]Riley's *School History of Mississippi*, 246.
[86]Lowry & McCardles' *History of Mississippi*, 172.
[87]Clayton's *Centennial Address*, 8-10.
[88]*Hinds County Gazette*, July 13, 1866.

taxes were very high. In 1870 an act was passed by the legislature providing a tax of not more than ten mills for a schoolhouse fund and another of not more than five mills for a fund for teachers salaries.[89] In 1871 it was ordered by the board of supervisors of Marshall County that the following tax should be collected for school purposes: In districts one and two, the tax was four mills for teachers and six for schoolhouses in districts three, four and five, the tax was four mills for teachers and four for houses. In 1873 another order was passed by the board of supervisors, levying a tax of four mills for a schoolhouse fund, and at the same time levying an additional tax by districts of from one to one and one-half mills, for a deficit in the salaries of teachers. According to the testimony of Edward E. Holman, a Republican and a citizen of Marshall County, before Boutwell's Committee, his tax prior to 1870 was $35; in the year 1870 he paid $65 on the same property, the difference being caused, as he stated, by the school tax. He further stated that,

"Those who have carried out this school system ought not to have gone ahead so fast. They ought to have taken the best they could get for the time being and gone on gradually."[90]

The school fund was at first distributed about equally between white and colored schools. The teachers' salaries were paid with warrants or Alcorn money. This money was a paper currency issued by the governor. It sold from ninety per cent to ninety-five per cent of its face value. The county warrants depreciated as low as sixty per cent.[91]

According to the records of the superintendent of education, the salaries for teachers ranged from $40 to $175 a month. Schools were numerous, for we are informed that there was a schoolhouse every four or five miles, wherever there was a thick settlement, or wherever twenty-five scholars can be gathered together.[92]

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[89]Appleton's *Annual Cyclopaedia,* Article on "Mississippi," 1870, 512.
[90]Boutwell's *Report on the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States* (House Rept. No. 41, pt. 12, 42d Cong., 2d Ses.), 352-353.
[91]This information was given by Mr. W. A. Anderson.
[92]Testimony E. E. Holman in Boutwell report (see footnote 89), 342-358.

The first negro school in Marshall County was taught by the carpetbagger, McDonald, his wife, and a Mr. Hooper, all of whom came from the North. They taught in what was then called "McDonald Hall." This school afterwards developed into Rust University, which is to-day a large negro school at Holly Springs. Another negro school was organized at Holly Springs by N. G. Gill. It was at first a private school, but later became a county school, having five months' free term. About eighty pupils attended this school its first session. It was taught by Northern men and women who were imported for that purpose. One of them, a white woman, married a negro man named Albright, who had been one of her pupils. She returned to the North. The Gills exerted a very bad influence over the negroes. Their school girls and boys would crowd and push the white girls from the walks in the town. This happened generally in the afternoons, when the white girls from the institute and from Bethlehem Academy who were returning home from school, would meet Mrs. Gill with her black proteges. Mrs. Gill would place herself in the center of her black column, and her pupils would lock arms so as to form a solid wall across the sidewalk. The white girls would have to pass around, or come into contact with the negroes. They generally chose the former alternative. Sometimes, however, they succeeded in forming just as solid a wall as their antagonists, and would stand stolidly facing Mrs. Gill until she gave way, and let them pass on the walk.[93]

The negro schools were well attended; for old and young alike sought education rather than work. There is a concensus of opinion among the old residents that no native white girl ever taught in a negro school. According to the *Hinds County Gazette,* Mr. Falconer was a teacher in a negro school founded by native whites (see above). The following is found in Boutwell's Report:

"Some native white people in Marshall County taught in colored schools; they thought they might as well do it as northern persons.[94]

Although there was opposition on the part of the white people

[93]These facts were given by Mrs. Lizzie A. Fant, of Holly Springs.
[94]E. E. Holman's Testimony, Boutwell Report (see footnote 89), 358.

to the negro schools, and they objected to paying such heavy taxes for the education of the negroes, this opposition did not express itself in any acts of violence or intimidation. No school-houses were burned, nor were there any attempts to break up negro schools.

Shaw University was established at Holly Springs by the Mississippi conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, and was incorporated by act of the legislature in 1870. This university transferred its normal department to the State for use as a State normal school for negroes. The State legislature appropriated $52,500 for this normal school, in the years 1870-1876. During this time there was no normal school in the State for whites. Each pupil in this negro school who filed a declaration of intention to teach in the common schools of the State was allowed fifty cents a week for the time in attendance. The total attendance in 1870 was fifty students; in 1871 it reached sixty-five. A Professor Gorman was principal of this school, and Miss M. E. Hunter was assistant. In 1871 Miss Hunter was principal and Miss Peck was assistant. After the close of the first year, twenty-six of the pupils taught in the public schools of the State. The following extracts were made from the annual report of the principal, dated January 14, 1873:

"The course of study as laid down in our catalogues has been pursued, the pupils proving their capacity for advanced study as well as more elementary work. A class is now doing successfully the work of the third year.

"Instruction in instrumental music is given to those who desire it; sixteen pupils have already made creditable advancement in this department. In addition to the literary society, two debating clubs have been formed. The school has a full supply of necessary text-books and maps. A reference library has been begun."

W. B. Highgate became principal in 1875.[95]

Liberty C. Abbott became superintendent of education of Marshall County in 1871. He was a carpetbagger.[96] During the reconstruction period, there was always one negro on the board of trustees of the public school at Holly Springs.[97]

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[95]Mayes' *History of Education in Mississippi*, 266-268.
[96]See *Supra.*
[97]This statement was made by Mr. W. A. Anderson.

In 1870 there were 843 white persons under twenty-one who could neither read nor white, and over four times as many negroes. In the same year the illiterate whites above twenty-one numbered 731, while the illiterate blacks of corresponding age numbered 3,387.[98]

Some of the most promient white educators of this period were Colonel Edgar, Mr. J. D. Creighton, and Mr. W. A. Anderson. Mr. Creighton taught at Chalmers Institute, which was even then, an old school. Mr. Anderson taught in Marshall County throughout the reconstruction period and many years thereafter. He has recently given up school work, and is at present clerk in the mayor's office in Holly Springs. He was a faithful soldier in the Confederate army and is to-day one of the most highly respected citizens of the county. Mr. William Clark was principal of Franklin Female College. There was also at this time a Catholic convent, Bethlehem Academy, in Holly Springs. This convent was a branch of Nazareth Academy of Bardstown, Kentucky.[99]

VII. Religious Conditions.

At the opening of the year 1860, there were a number of religious denominations in Marshall County, aggregating fifty-six church buildings with a total accommodation of 11,750. The church property of the county had a value of $79,800. The Methodist were first in numbers, having thirty-two churches with an aggregate membership of about 6,000. Many of their ministers were men of marked ability and energy, and of high religious and moral character. The Baptists were next in numbers, having eleven churches, and a membership of about 1,600 or 2,000. The Presbyterians had five churches. One of their first ministers, the Rev. Daniel Baker, was well known and loved throughout the county, and is often referred to with pride by the old residents. The denomination was also fortunate in having Rev. G. Hurd to help direct its destiny before the war.

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[98]Census Report for 1870. See Appendix B, Table X.
[99]This information was given by Mrs. Lizzie A. Fant.

He was a man of large acquirements and of rare excellence. The Episcopalians had three churches. They were forunate in having at Holly Springs the Rev. J. H. Ingraham for their rector. He died December 15, 1860, and is buried in the Holly Springs cemetery. He wrote his *Throne of David* and *Pillar of Fire* while living in that place. Their church also had at an earlier date, the Rev. Francis Hawks for their rector. He established St. Thomas Hall for boys. He left Holly Springs to accept a rectorship in New York City. The Cumberland Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, and Union Methodists were also represented in Marshall County.

In 1870 the number of churches had increased to sixty-seven, while the congregations numbered sixty-nine. This increase was confined to the Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians.[100]

There were five churches at Holly Springs during the reconstruction period—Baptist, Catholic, Episcopalian, Methodist and Presbyterian. The pastors of the churches at this time: E. D. Miller, of the Baptist; Father Wise, of the Catholic; Dr. J. P. Pickett, of the Episcopal; — — Hamilton, — — Sheppard and J. D. Cameron, of the Methodist; Henry Payne and J. H. Craig, of the Presbyterian.

It is not definitely known when the negroes began to build churches in Marshall County, but the negro Methodist church at Holly Springs was used as a voting precinct in 1869. There was also a negro Baptist church in Holly Springs at this time. The negro Methodist preachers were Winsor Butler, Moses Adams and Wesley Johnson.[101] The Baptist preachers were William Goodman, Peyton Edmondson and Daniel Abbey. Most of these were ex-slaves of old residents of Holly Springs.[102]

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[100]These statistics were obtained from the census reports for the years 1860 and 1870. See Appendix B, table IX.

[101]Wesley Johnson was probably the preacher who wrote a public letter to his race exhorting them to support the native white people. This letter appeared in a Jackson paper. See *supra.*

[102]Mrs. Lizzie A. Fant is the authority for these statements.

VIII. Economic Conditions.

The county was very much impoverished at the close of the war. Fences were down, barns had been burned, seed and stock were scarce, lands were badly worn by neglect, and labor was difficult to control. Naturally, with such obstacles to battle against the crops were small. It is said that where the negroes worked for stated wages, little complaint was heard, because they received their remuneration, but where they worked on shares it was found that the laborer's share did not pay for his supplies. Instances occurred where the planters entirely abandoned the crops to the laborers. The planters then decided to raise more corn and food supplies and less cotton, since the former products require less labor than does the latter. Consequently there came to be less need for a large number of laborers, and there was a decrease in wages paid to the negroes. The demand for laborers was greater, however, than the supply.[103] This change of crop, and the influence of the Freedmen's Bureau caused the negroes to refuse to make contracts for 1868. Consequently after the crops were gathered in 1867 the negroes were idle, and depredations began.[104]

The negroes who worked for wages received from $8 to $12 per month. Much of the land was rented on shares, the system of halves and thirds and fourths being used then as they are to-day. When the tenants furnished everything except the land and improvements thereon they gave the landlord one-fourth of the cotton and one-third of the corn. When the landlord furnished land, seed, implements, stock, and feed for same, and the tenant furnished the labor and fed it, the resulting crop was divided equally. The negro generally had his garden and potato patch free. The owner of the land supervised and controlled the labor, but paid the negro extra wages for any work done other than in cultivating and gathering the crop. There was no foreign labor introduced into the county during this period, except a few Italians who are said to have been brought

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[103]See Organization, *Freedmen's Bureau* (*supra*).
[104]Appleton's *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1867, Article on "Mississippi," 518.

to Waterford, but if this is true, they remained only a year or two.

In 1870 the deed in trust act was passed, which enabled both farmers and renters to mortgage not only their property, tools and stock, but also their growing crops for supplies. This was a great benefit to a large portion of the small farmers who had no other means of getting supplies with which to make their crops. By its use, however, many farmers were put into bankruptcy, as the cost of cultivation greatly exceeded the cost of the supplies. The crops produced in these years (1865-'75) were small, and food stuffs, clothing, etc., were exceedingly high. The people were forced to live very economically and to resort to the use of many makeshifts. One lady, whose husband had lost his arm in the war, made ginger cakes, and put them on sale in a grocery store. By this means she managed to keep herself supplied with the barest necessities until a crop could be made.

The cotton crop in 1870 averaged little more than one-third that in 1860; and there was a corresponding decrease in practically every crop raised in the latter year. The total value of farm products raised in the county in 1870 was $225,568, while the value of the crop of 1860 was $779,723. The crop of 1870 brought good prices, but everything else was fabulously high.

In addition to these burdens which the people were bearing, the cotton tax was placed on them by congress. This tax varied from two cents to five cents a pound on all cotton ginned. In 1869 it was "ordered that a tax of 100 per cent on the amount of assessments of the State tax, being said per centum on all State tax including cotton tax, shall be collected for county taxes, and that an amount of 120 per cent of the State tax shall be collected as a special tax for the erection of the courthouse for this county.[105] In 1873 the rate of taxation for State purposes was twelve and one-half mills, while that of the county was 225 per cent. of the State tax. For 1874 the total State and county tax was twenty-eight mills.[106]

The negroes bought a large quantity of farm lands in Marshall

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[105]Minute Book of Board of Supervisors, 1869, 260.
[106]Garner's *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 313.

County on Coldwater creek, north and northeast of Holly Springs. One negro on Coldwater creek, now owns as much as 1,500 acres. One citizen gives as the reason for this segregation that when one or two white men sell or rent entirely to negroes, the others are forced to do so in order to move to a place where they can get school facilities.[107]

IX. Municipalities.

Holly Springs was the only incorporated town of any importance within the limits of the county during this period. As the municipal records have been lost or destroyed a complete roster of the town officers cannot be obtained, but the following list is as full and definite as the old citizens can give it: Henry A. Cooper was appointed mayor of Holly Springs and sheriff of the county by Ames in 1870.[108] He held the office of mayor until July, 1871, when it is thought he was succeeded by Judge Lawrence, who was a native Republican and a man of integrity and respectability. He is spoken of as a "nice old gentleman," and is kindly remembered by the older citizens of the town. In 1872 A. W. Goodrich was elected mayor. We are told that he was a staunch Democrat and "one of the finest mayors ever had in office in Holly Springs." He had held this office for many years prior to the war, and after his election in 1872, he continued uninterruptedly in office until 1878, when he died of yellow fever.

The board of aldermen for 1872 was composed of Dr. J. F. Butler, Joshua Phillips, Logan Gorman, S. C. Gholson and W. A. Roberts. The board for 1874 was composed of J. P. Norfleet, J. H. Benton, William Dogan, J. H. Bennett and Edwards Sims.

William H. Jones was marshal in 1871, and David E. Connor was constable in 1866.

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[107]Rev. Ben C. Gray gave this information.
[108]See "Party Leaders," *supra.*

APPENDIX A.

The following list of the county officers is as nearly complete as could be obtained:

1865.

Boards of Police, or Supervisors.	Other Officers.
John B. Fant, President; James K. Alexander, Geo. W. Ogilvie, Richard D. Jones, I. B. Owings.	Sheriff, John R. McCarroll; Deputy Sheriff, Thos. B. Parker; Treasurer, Robt. M. Simpson; Clerk of Board, B. W. Walthall.

1866.

John B. Fant, President; James K. Alexander, I. B. Owings, David Lasseur, Wm. Alexander.	Sheriff, John R. McCarroll; Circuit Clerk, Geo. B. Myers; Clerk of Board, B. W. Walthall.

1867.

John B. Fant, President; Wm. H. Hinton, M. A. Hancock, G. E. Higginbotham, R. B. West.	Sheriff, John R. McCarroll; Circuit Clerk, Geo. B. Myers; Clerk of Board, B. W. Walthall.

1868.

Officers the same as in 1867.

1869.

Nelson G. Gill, President; Eli Buchanan, Wm. I. Williams, J. C. Burrow, ——— ———*	Sheriff, Henry A. Cooper; Circuit Clerk, G. A. Dunn; County Atorney, H. M. Paine; Co. Auctioneer, Thos. B. Parker; Coroner, L. C. Abbott; Clerk of Board, D. C. Colkins.

1870.

Nelson G. Gill, President; W. J. Williams, J. C. Burrow, Aaron Royston, Eli Buchanan,	Sheriff, Henry A. Cooper; Circuit Clerk, W. L. Bledsoe; Treasurer, I. I. Diller; Clerk of Board, D. C. Colkins.

1871.

Nelson G. Gill, President; J. C. Burrow, Wm. Cook, J. F. Monroe, J. Williams.	Sheriff, Geo. M. Buchanan; Treasurer, I. I. Diller; Clerk of Board, B. D. Nabers.

*District No. 2 was not represented.

1872.

John T. Brown, President;
A. B. Conley,
J. T. Bailey,
Logan Gorman,
G. G. Austin.

Sheriff, G. M. Buchanan;
Treasurer, J. L. Burton;
Circuit Clerk, G. B. Myers;
Assessor, — — Howard;
Coroner, — — McCroskey;
Surveyor, C. J. Eckles;
Clerk of Board, B. W. Walthall.

1873.

John T. Brown, President;
J. T. Bailey,
S. J. Briggs,
Logan Gorman,
G. G. Austin.

Sheriff, G. M. Buchanan;
Circuit Clerk, G. B. Myers;
Clerk of Board, B. W. Walthall.

1874.

P. J. Smythe, President;
John T. Brown,
Joseph Tunstall (colored),
Jerry Dean (colored),
Anthony Tate (colored).

Sheriff, G. M. Buchanan;
Circuit Court, G. B. Myers;
Assessor, Cunningham;
Treasurer, John Record;
Surveyor, C. J. Eckles;
Coroner, — — McKie;
Chancery Clerk, John Mahon;
Attorney, B. D. Nabers;
Clerk of Board, B. W. Walthall.

1875.

P. J. Smythe, President;
John T. Brown,
William Jones,
T. Anthony Tate,
Joseph Tunstall.

Sheriff, G. M. Buchanan;
Clerk of Board, B. W. Walthall.

MUNICIPAL OFFICERS OF HOLLY SPRINGS.

1872.

ALDERMEN.

Dr. J. F. Butler,
Joshua Phillips,
Logan Gorman
L. C. Gholson,
W. A. Roberts.

Mayor, A. W. Goodrich.

1874.

J. P. Norfleet,
J. H. Benton,
Wm. Dogan
J. H. Bennett,
Edward Sims.

Mayor, A. W. Goodrich.

SCHOOL TRUSTEES, 1874.

First Ward.	Second Ward.	Third Ward.	Fourth Ward.
J. P. Norfleet, Laurence Johnson.	None elected.	J. E. Dean, W. S. Featherston.	Dr. J. R. Dougherty.

Fifth Ward,—Dr. Chas. Bonner, W. W. Wallace.

APPENDIX B—CENSUS STATISTICS OF MARSHALL COUNTY.

Table I. Owners of Slaves and Number Owned in 1860.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	15 and under 20	20 and under 30	30 and under 40	40 and under 50	50 and under 70	70 and under 100	100 and under 200	200 and under 1,000	Total Owners	Total Slaves
176	124	88	68	73	59	50	51	51	165	102	132	60	38	33	18	6	1	1,295	17,439

Table II. Population Statistics, 1860–1880.

	Whites			Indians	Blacks			Total Population	
	Native	Foreign	Total		Free	Slaves	Total	Native	Foreign
1860	10,966	410	11,376	.....	8	17,439	17,447	28,413	410
1870	12,547	370	12,917	.....	16,499	.....	16,499	29,046	370
1880	10,797	195	10,992	1	18,338	.....	18,338	29,135	195

Table III. Population of Minor Civil Divisions, 1870–1880.

	1870					1880	
	Total	Native	Foreign	White	Colored	Total Population	
Range 1	4,723	4,701	22	2,028	2,695	Beat 1	8,823
Range 2	7,695	7,472	223	3,885	3,810	Beat 2	6,393
Range 3	6,300	6,275	25	2,700	3,600	Beat 3	6,028
Range 4	7,162	7,115	47	2,542	4,620	Beat 4	4,546
Range 5	3,536	3,483	53	1,762	1,774	Beat 5	3,540

TABLE IV. NATIVITY OF POPULATION, 1870–1880.

Native Born.

	Born in State	Alabama	South Carolina	Virginia and West Virginia	Tennessee	Georgia	Total
1870	18,189	1,263	1,116	1,494	2,954	1,173	29,046
1880	21,050	910	1,004	976	2,461	802	29,135

Foreign Born.

	British America	England and Wales	Ireland	Scotland	France	Germany	Sweden and Norway	Total
1870	8	26	114	21	7	113	43	370
1880	.....	25	73	9	3	50	8	195

TABLE V. FARMS CONTAINING THREE ACRES AND MORE, 1860–1880.

	No.	Under 3	3 and under 10	10 and under 20	20 and under 50	50 and under 100	100 and under 500	500 and under 1,000	1,000 and over
1860	1,017	.....	2	30	173	256	446	95	15
1870	3,783	.....	210	450	2,160	512	430	21	.....
1880	2,716	1	40	192	859	691	862	53	18

	Number Cultivated by Owner	Number Cultivated by Fixed Money Rental	Number Rented for Shares
1880	1,253	813	650

TABLE VI. AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS, 1860–1880.

	FARMS—IMPROVED LAND					UNIMPROVED LAND		
	Number	Acres	Value Farms, Including Land, Fences and Buildings	Value Farm Implements and Machinery	Cost Fertilizers, 1879	Total	Woodland and Forest	All Other
						Acres	Acres	Acres
1860	1,017	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1870	3,783	189,031	$4,309,221	$ 93,649	.....	259,611	234,371	25,240
1880	2,716	163,667	2,534,388	102,529	$2,118	173,190	137,331	35,859

	Value of Farms	Area in Cotton	Cotton—Bales	Area in Corn	Corn—Bushels	Area in Wheat	Wheat—Bushels	Area in Oats	Oats—Bushels
1860	$7,076,960	.....	49,348	.....	1,068,350	.....	58,409	.....	5,404
1870	4,309,221	.....	18,379	.....	765,466	.....	19,121	.....	8,972
1880	2,534,388	67,411	26,441	50,140	686,062	3,094	14,605	3,130	26,646

TABLE VI—AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS—CONTINUED.

	Rice	Rye	Sweet Potatoes	Irish Potatoes	Peas and Beans	Value Farm Products	Value Live Stock	Butter	Wool	Animals Slaughtered
1860.	900	4,423	118,359	28,439	148,355	.....	$1,508,821	244,861	18,820	350,295
1870.	23,406	126	29,111	9,736	3,394	$2,468,227[1]	1,098,167	81,350	3,362	115,693
1880.	.....	182	45,373	11,795	.....	2,014,153	572,879	215,070	7,322	.....

[1] This includes "betterments and additions to stock."

TABLE VII. GENERAL MANUFACTURING STATISTICS, 1860–1880.

	Establishments	Capital Invested	Cost of Raw Materials	Hands		Cost of Labor	Value of Products
				Male	Female		
1860.	57	$796,670	$487,950	Above 16	Above 15	$160,800	$779,723
1870.	103	111,365	86,279	329	.....	41,970	225,568
1880.	84	130,975	108,657	190	2	42,528	204,305
				139	.....		

TABLE VIII. SELECTED MANUFACTURING STATISTICS, 1860–1880.

	Kinds of Establishments	Number	Capital, in Dollars	Average Hands			Amount Paid in Wages Annually	Value Products, in Dollars	Value Material, in Dollars
				Male	Female	Youths			
1860	Cotton Factory	1	$ 8,000	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	$ 625
1870[1]	Carriage and Wagon Factory	7	10,700	28	.....	.....	$10,900	$27,800	4,160
	Flouring Mill	2	10,750	3	.....	.....	1,750	10,000	7,100
	Lumber Mill	2	5,800	32	.....	.....	7,200	30,000	4,500
	Printing	2	6,200	8	.....	5	8,000	14,000	1,945
1880[2]	Carriages and Wagons	3	68,500	32	.....	.....	14,280	53,000	17,200
	Flour and Grist Mill	16	36,175	22	.....	.....	3,515	61,517	55,682

[1]All industries with a gross annual production of less than $10,000, except "neighborhood industries," producing as much as $2,500 annually, are omitted.
[2]All industries producing less than $20,000 annually are omitted.

TABLE IX. CHURCH STATISTICS, 1860–1870.

	Baptist			Episcopal			Methodist			Presbyterian			Roman Catholic		
	Number	Accommodations	Value of Property	Number	Accommodations	Value of Property	Number	Accommodations	Value of Property	Number	Accommodations	Value of Property	Number	Accommodations	Value of Property
1860	11	2,150	$7,950	3	700	$20,000	32	6,600	$32,450	5	1,200	$13,700	1	150	$2,000
1870	15	2,700	.....	3	600	.....	40	9,300	.....	9	2,050	.....	1	200	.....

TABLE X. SCHOOL STATISTICS, 1870.

	Number of Schools	Number of Teachers	Total Costs of Schools	NUMBER OF PUPILS				Cannot Read	CANNOT WRITE											
				WHITE		COLORED			WHITE						COLORED					
									10 and under 15		15 and under 21		21 and over		10 and under 15		15 and under 21		21 and over	
				Male	Female	Male	Female		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1870	.....	.....	....	862	950	145	177	11,020	270	209	200	164	293	438	1,613	937	951	1,113	3,073	3,314

TABLE XI. TAXES AND PUBLIC DEBTS, 1860–1880.

	ASSESSED VALUE			TAXATION			PUBLIC DEBT			
	Real Estate	Personal Property	Total	State	County	City, Town, or Village	Bonded Debt	Floating Debt	Gross Debt	Net Debt
1860	$14,248,330	$25,266,556	$39,514,886	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1870	4,645,183	1,964,800	6,609,988	$41,768	$76,658	$6,748	$10,000	.....	.....	.....
1880	2,927,274	864,095	3,791,369	14,566	32,544	6,029	.....	$1,650	$1,650	$1,650

RECONSTRUCTION IN YALOBUSHA AND GRENADA COUNTIES.

By Julia C. Brown.[1]

Yalobusha County was established by an act of the legislature, Dec. 23, 1833. The territory from which it was formed was a part of that obtained from the Choctaw Indians in 1830 by the treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek. Grenada County was formed out of parts of Yalobusha and Carroll counties in 1870.

Yalobusha County, located in the north-central part of the State, is bounded on the north by Lafayette and Panola counties, on the east by Calhoun, on the south by Grenada, and on west by Tallahatchie County. As originally constituted, it was a very large county, containing an area of 900 square miles, but it has given up a large portion of its territory in the formation of Calhoun County (1852) and Grenada County (1870). At present (1912) it contains an area of 501 square miles.

The land in the county is hilly, especially in the neighbor-

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[1]This contribution was prepared in the Historical Seminary of the University of Mississippi in 1911.

Miss Julia Clementine Brown, M. A., is the daughter of the Rev. and Mrs. C. D. Brown, of Oxford, Mississippi. Her father is the rector of the Episcopal church of that town. She was born April 12, 1889, in Dalhousie, New Brunswick, Canada. When she was a child her parents removed to Decorah, Iowa, where for a time she attended a sister's school, near their home, and afterwards the public school. Removing with her people to Port Gibson, Mississippi in 1896, she attended the Female College of the Methodist church at that place. The family made their home in Oxford in 1901, where she graduated from the high school in 1905. She then entered the University, taking the B. S. degree in 1910, and the M. A. in 1911. She is now teacher of modern languages (French and German) in the Natchez Institute.

Miss Brown is of English descent, her father having been born at Waltham Abbey, Essex County, England. Her mother's father, the late Rev. E. G. Sutton, rector of Edwardstown, near Montreal, Canada, also belonged to an old English family. Her grandmother, on her mother's side, was a daughter of Colonel Pridham, of Grenville Province, Quebec, Canada, and on her father's side a Wetherell of Walk Mill, Osmotherley, Yorkshire, England.—Editor.

hood of Coffeeville. But the numerous streams within its borders often overflow, making the valleys and lowlands very fertile. The small streams of the county are tributaries of Yocana river in the northern and of Schooner river in the southern part.

These rivers are not now used for navigation, but they are not needed, since there are fairly good roads throughout the county, and the Illinois Central railroad runs from north to south, every town of any importance in the county being on the railroad.

The county seat was established at Coffeeville in 1834, but in 1873 Water Valley was made a second court district. Since that time the county has had two seats of justice.

Coffeeville is an active little business town of about 500 inhabitants. It is named after Gen. John Coffee, one of the commissioners to the Choctaw Indians. It has a fine, brick courthouse, costing $25,000. The Newberger Cotton Company and other important business houses are located in this place.

Water Valley is the largest and most important municipality in Yalobusha County, claiming a population of about 5,500. It is situated in the northern part of the county. The railroad shops of the Illinois Central have been located there since 1866. The Yocana Cotton Factory, the W. M. Hendricks Foundry and Machine shops, an ice factory, and other important manufacturing enterprises are also located at this place. Water Valley ships a large amount of lumber. The fine brick courthouse at this place was destroyed by fire in January, 1912. The town has many well constructed business houses.

Oakland, in the Western part of the county, is situated on the main line of the Illinois Central railroad, between Grenada and Memphis. It has a population of about 250. This is one of the oldest towns in the county, having been incorporated in 1848.

Other towns, not incorporated, are Tillatoba, Scoby, Velma, Torrence, Garner, Air Mount, Hatton, and Pine Valley.

Several ante-bellum towns of the county are now extinct.[2] Chocchuma, the first of these in importance, was the site of the land office of the Choctaws until 1837. Hendersonville, built on the site of an old Indian village about four miles south of Coffeeville, was the place of meeting of the first board of police of Yalobusha County. But when Coffeeville began to grow, Hendersonville declined and vanished from the map. Sardinia and Preston are also extinct towns which at one time had a population of 150 and 250, respectively. Preston was about fourteen miles north of Grenada. It was settled in 1835 and incorporated in 1840. The town of Grenada, which during part of the reconstruction period was in Yalobusha County, had an interesting origin.[3]

The population of Yalobusha County consists for the most part of families which have emigrated from the older Southern States; namely, Alabama, South Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, and Georgia. The largest number came from Alabama. A few foreigners have settled in the county, the largest number being

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[2]See Franklin L. Riley's "Extinct Towns and Villages of Mississippi," in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* V. 379-381.

[3]John Donley was a white man who carried the mail for the Indians, and the Indians out of consideration for him when the treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek was made, stipulated in the treaty that the government should give him a tract of land, with the privilege of selecting it from any part of the Choctaw nation. He located this tract upon section eight. Later he conveyed it to Henry R. W. Hill, of Nashville, Tennessee, who subsequently sold it to W. M. Gwin, then United States marshal for Mississippi, and Gwin conveyed it to Hiram G. Runnels. Runnels and his associates then formed a town company, had the section laid off into lots, and called the town Tullahoma. About this time another town company acquired the adjoining section of land, section seven, had it platted and named it Pittsboro, because it lay at the confluence of Yalobusha river and Abityupon Bouge. Great rivalry existed between the two places, Tullahoma and Pittsboro. Finally, they agreed to "bury the hatchet," and to consolidate; a public marriage was celebrated with great pomp and the new town was called Grenada, a Spanish name which means "cease striving." W. M. Gwin afterwards moved to California and became United States senator from that State; he was called the "Duke of Sonera."

This information was received from Judge McLean, of Grenada, Mississippi. See also "Grenada and Neighboring Towns in the Thirties," by Levin Lake, in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* III, 313-316.

from Norway and Sweden.[4] The people are good, substantial citizens, fully endowed with that hospitality which is characteristic of the South.

Among the early settlers were the following families: Hughes, Moore, Smith, Powell, Lee, Statum, Leigh, Jones, Garner, Lester, Lake, Brown, Gollady, Ransome, Simms, Mister, Whittakers, McLean, Gray, Fisher, Mullen, Stokes, Hall, Aldridge, Coffman, Walker, Pass, Winter, Thompson, Stewart, Calhoun, Townes, Williams, Kirkman, Wade, Oliver, Stone, Baker, Riddick, Eggleston, Jennings, Barksdale, Hardy, and Carr.

The total population of Yalobusha County in 1860 was 16,952. Of this 7,415 were whites, 9,531 slaves, and six free negroes. In 1870 the total population was 13,254, there being 7,052 blacks and 6,202 whites.[5] The large decrease in the population between 1860 and 1870 was due to the formation of Grenada County and to the effects of the war. In 1880 the white population of Yalobusha County numbered 7,533 and the negro population 8,116. The negroes were in a majority until after 1880.

In some parts of Yalobusha County the negroes were segregated during the reconstruction period. These parts gave the county more trouble than those in which the whites had complete control. There was such a segregation in the town of Coffeeville, a colony of about 400 negroes being settled in that place. It was only by cutting down the limits of the town so as to exclude them that the white people of Coffeeville were able to regain control.[6]

Most of the people of Water Valley are now (1912) employed by the Illinois Central railroad, though a large number are engaged in manufacturing. Farming is the leading occupation in other parts of the county. The land is fertile and well adapted to fruit raising. In recent years there have sprung up several large strawberry farms in the central part of the county. Truck-farming is very successful, since a great many varieties of vege-

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[4]See Table No. IV in Appendix C.

[5]The total population in 1840, was 12,248; in 1850, it was 17,258; in 1860, 16,952; in 1870, 13,254; in 1880, 15,649; in 1890, 16,629; in 1900, 19,742, and in 1910, 21,519.

[6]Statement of Francis Herron, Coffeeville, Mississippi.

tables can be profitably grown in the county. Its soil is also well suited to stock-raising. The fine timber lands in the eastern part of the county have led to the building of sawmills in that section.

Some of the men who have been eminent as planters were the Hon. John M. Moore of Oakland, James L. Nations, Dr. Alexander A. Bryant, and Col. H. H. Barksdale.

The county was in a very deplorable condition at the time of the surrender, its citizens having suffered great losses, not only from the emancipation of the slaves, but from the ravages of war. A Federal army passed through the county in the winter of 1862-3 and destroyed much valuable property, burning all the business houses of Water Valley except two or three. The same army proceeded to Grenada, destroying as it went. Before the Confederate authorities evacuated Grenada, they burnt fifteen or twenty locomotives and one hundred cars. Great consternation was displayed by the farmers, who fled from their plantations.[7] For a short time Grenada was made headquarters of Grant's army. After the close of hostilities several negro regiments were stationed there. They did a great deal of damage and were a source of much annoyance to the people.

The reconstruction history of Yalobusha County, unlike that of the majority of the counties in Mississippi, extended beyond the election of 1875. The first part of this history from 1865 to 1875 was characterized by a struggle between the Democrats and Republicans, and the second period extending from 1876 to 1880 by a more violent conflict between the Democrats and Greenbackers.

The public records of Yalobusha County are in a very imperfect condition, most of them having been destroyed by fire or lost through neglect. There are no newspaper files in the county which date back to the reconstruction period. In the preparation of this study the writer has, therefore, been forced to rely principally upon interviews with persons who lived in the county at the time.

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[7]See Garner's *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 11.

Parties and Party Leaders.

Immediately after the war, from the year 1865 until 1867, the Democrats were in a majority and retained control of the county government. It was not until 1867, when the reconstruction measures were passed by Congress, that the South began to feel the severity of the punishment inflicted upon her. The suffrage acts passed in that year disqualified almost all of the most worthy men in the South. This was especially the case in a town like Grenada where Federal troops were stationed and where the office of the Freedmen's Bureau was situated. The Grenada (Mississippi) *Visitor*[8] says:

"The disgraceful exhibition of the utter trampling upon all law, right and decency—known as the registration in the city—is still continued. More than half of the white citizens fully qualified under the law are turned away whilst every negro who applies is immediately accepted and registered.

"Naturalized citizens are not only required to produce their papers but to leave them with the registrars, with a very dim prospect of ever getting them back. Old citizens who have lived a quarter of a century, and who pay individually more taxes than the whole Radical party in the State pay collectively, are turned away because they have been at some remote period of their lives, school directors or aldermen under the city government and are suspected of having sympathized with the rebellion. But few naturalized citizens are registered on any terms except that of adherence to the Radicals. That virtue will purge all vices. Renegades who fought in the rebel ranks and deserted when the cause became desperate and joined the Radicals—even some who were punished by Butler and Banks for their rebellious excesses—and who possessed the disqualification of having held Federal or State offices previous to the war are admitted to the honor (?) of registration without questions."

The Democratic party was composed principally of native whites, who having fought for what they believed to be their rights had returned home to bring order out of chaos. A small portion of the colored race remained under the influence of their former masters and voted the Democratic ticket. Great credit is due these men, for they were beset on all sides by the machinations of the Loyal Leagues and the promises of corrupt carpet-baggers. Contrary to the general rule, all of the men in Yalo-

[8]This extract from the Grenada *Visitor* was found in the *Oxford Falcon* of May 11, 1867. It was copied by the *Falcon* from the Memphis *Ledger.*

busha County who had been Old Line Whigs before the war joined the Democratic party after the war. Although they had opposed secession, they went heart and soul into the struggle, and after it was over they allied themselves with their former political antagonists. Judge Fisher of Grenada, Dr. A. D. Statham, father of General Statham, also of Grenada; Mr. Sam Haukins, editor of one of the Grenada papers; Dr. Bryant of Coffeeville; Captain Elliot and Mr. James E. Bakstrom of Water Valley, had all been Old Line Whigs before the war, but became as ardent Democrats after it was over.

The Republican party was composed of carpetbaggers—Northern men who came into the South for the purpose of gain; scalawags—native whites who allied themselves with the Republicans in order to obtain office; and the greater part of the colored race who were led astray by the promises of the carpetbaggers and scalawags. Although the carpetbaggers were a source of great annoyance, the scalawags gave the greatest amount of trouble in the county. Being natives, they exerted a more vital influence over the negro.

The Independent or Greenback party in Yalobusha County was a force that made itself felt after 1876. It was composed, for the most part, of men who were really Democrats but who announced themselves as Independents merely to obtain office. By leaving the Democratic party they caused a division among the native whites at a time when union was most necessary.

The Greenbackers were hated by the Democrats. At one time Col. M. D. L. Stephens, one of the best men in the State, was hanged in effigy by the people of Water Valley, his home town, because of his alliance with the Greenback party.[9]

The Greenbackers united with the negroes and Republicans and defeated the Democrats in Yalobusha County in 1876. After they took charge of affairs, county warrants fell from par to forty cents.[10]

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[9]This information was furnished by Capt. J. M. Allen, of Water Valley.

[10]This information was furnished by Mr. Francis Herron, of Coffeeville, Mississippi.

Edward Cary Walthall[11] was the leading Democrat in Yalobusha County. He was conservative and prudent, and his advice was widely sought by the people of his county and State.

When Hood made his memorable retreat from Nashville, General Walthall was asked if he would undertake the responsibility of protecting the army. He is reported to have replied:

"I have never knowingly sought the path of danger nor shunned the path of duty. I will go."[12]

These words are the key to his whole life. He was prudent, but when duty called he answered, no matter how great the danger.

On several occasions he was the means of keeping peace between the white people and the negroes. He was a brilliant orator and a man of magnetic personality. He was a member of the State Democratic convention held in Jackson August 4, 1875, to organize for the approaching election.[13] He took an active part in freeing the country of carpetbaggers and scalawags in 1875.

In 1869 George Sheridan was paid a large sum of money by the Republican party to deliver a speech at Grenada. The

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[11]General Walthall was born at Richmond, Virginia, April 4, 1831. He was educated at St. Thomas' Hall in Holly Springs, Mississippi, studied law in that city, and when twenty-one, was admitted to the bar. He established himself at Coffeeville. In 1856 he was elected district attorney for the tenth judicial district. He resigned in 1861 to enter the Fifteenth Mississippi Infantry as lieutenant. He was rapidly promoted, finally becoming major-general in 1864. Walthall's Brigade was noted for its bravery. Immediately after the war he resumed the practice of law at Coffeeville, where he formed a partnership with Senator Lamar. The two men were firm friends. Lamar was in the habit of saying that General Walthall was the greatest man he knew.

In 1868 Walthall was a delegate at large to the national Democratic convention. In 1871 he established himself as a lawyer at Grenada. He won high honors in his profession during the ensuing sixteen years. In the years 1876, 1880 and 1884 he was chosen delegate at large to the Democratic national convention. He succeeded Lamar as United States senator in 1885, and was elected to the same position in 1886, holding it for twelve years until 1895. He died April 21, 1898.

[12]See Miss Duval's "The Chevalier Bayard of Mississippi," in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* IV, 44.

[13]See Johnston's "Suffrage and Reconstruction in Mississippi," in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* VI, 190.

speech was very brilliant and was much appreciated by a large crowd of negroes. After it was over Walthall delivered an address, standing on a large drygoods box. Sheridan attempted to get upon the box with Walthall, and Walthall holding him firmly, said, "Stand there and tell these niggars how much you are paid for telling these damned lies." Several years later Walthall met Sheridan in New York. Sheridan insisted on entertaining him with champagne in memory of the occasion which he said he hugely enjoyed.[14]

Major William Barksdale[15] was well known throughout the country and State as a brave soldier and an orator. It was due to him in large measure that the white man's supremacy was maintained in Yalobusha County. He made many speeches in defence of the South and in opposition to the carpetbaggers. His influence over the negroes was very great. Yet he would not pamper them nor give way to them in any degree. In a speech to a large crowd of negroes at Grenada he is reported[16] to have said:

"You niggars think we'll let you smite us on one cheek and then turn and let you smite us on the other, but I tell you we'll have an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth."

It was through words like these he won the negroes to the Democratic cause.

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[14]This information was received from Mr. W. H. Winter, of Grenada, Mississippi.

[15]William Barskdale was born April 26, 1834, in Lauderdale County, Alabama. In the same year his parents moved to Mississippi. He was given the best education the county could afford, and was then sent to the University of Mississippi. He took the literary course, graduating with honor in 1855. He was then employed as an instructor in that institution. In 1857 he began studying law, and finished the course of two years later. He then opened up a law office in Grenada, where he was very successful. He was a delegate to the secession convention of 1861, and when the war broke out, joined the Confederate army. He passed through various promotions, serving under General Featherston and General Walthall. When the war closed he resumed the practice of his profession. He held the position of district attorney for several years. In 1875 he was elected to represent Grenada County in the legislature. He died at Grenada, January 10, 1877. See Goodspeed's *Memoirs of Mississippi,* I, 354.

[16]This information was received from Mr. W. H. Winter, of Grenada, Mississippi.

At another time when Major Barksdale made a speech at Spring Lake, Roland Collins, a negro leader who had formerly belonged to the Barksdale family spoke against him. He said:

"Marse Billy I lernt you to walk and to talk, I lernt you to read, I lernt you to hoe corn and cotton, and Marse Billy you's de bes' man I knows."

Throughout his entire speech he referred to Major Barksdale as "Marse Billy."[17]

Major Barksdale was a member of the Democratic convention held in Jackson in 1875 to organize for carrying the November election.[18] It was certainly due in large part to his efforts that the Democrats were successful in that year; for he helped to organize the picnics, barbecues, and marches through the country. He was elected to the legislature which met the following year, 1876, and was a leader in the overthrow of Ames and in the impeachment of Davis.[19]

Capt. Roland W. Jones was eminent in Yalobusha affairs during the reconstruction period. In 1876 he served on the board of supervisors and in 1878 he was elected president of the board. He fought in the Confederate army in the War of Secession in which he distinguished himself for his courage and daring,[20] and he was equally prominent in the no less perilous time of carpetbag rule. He believed in keeping the negroes in their places and did his part in putting them there.

On one occasion Scurlock, a colored man, leader of the negroes, called a grand rally to meet at Coffeeville, then headquarters for all the political gatherings of the county. Early in the morning of the appointed day the town began to fill with negroes,

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[17]This information was received from Mr. H. W. Winter.

[18]See Johnston's "Suffrage and Reconstruction in Mississippi," in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* VI, 199.

[19]Lieutenant Governor Davis was a barber in Grenada at one time. Information received from Mr. Tom Garner, Grenada, Mississippi.

[20]Captain Jones was badly wounded at the battle of Franklin, being carried to the hospital with both arms broken and his right leg shot nearly off. When asked by a visiting colonel how he felt, he raised the stumps of his wounded arms, and said, "I am all right, colonel; there is enough of me left to make a pretty good cavalryman. (Information given by Judge I. T. Blount.)

and it was seen that the place would soon be overrun. But Captain Jones' indignation had reached the point when it could be no longer curbed. Backed by only two or three friends, he walked up to Scurlock, who was surrounded by a few whites and a horde of negroes, and taking him by the collar with one hand and holding a pocket-knife in the other, said:

"Scurlock if these negroes are not disbanded and sent home in twenty minutes, I'll cut your throat from ear to ear."

The negroes were ordered home, and the meeting was not held.[21] Captain Jones was elected in 1870 to represent Yalobusha County in the legislature, but was suspended by the house for denouncing that body in open session as "a set of mongrels."[22]

Col. M. D. L. Stephens[23] was a prominent Democratic leader. In 1865 he was a member of the State senate, and in 1880 represented his county in the lower house of the legislature. The courtly, lovable old man was well known in Water Valley. He was beloved despite his temporary alliance with the Greenback party in 1876. He was the Grand Cyclops of the Ku Klux Klan in the northern district of Mississippi in the reconstruction period. It was undoubtedly due to his careful management that the negroes and profligate whites were kept under control, and that the wilder element of the Ku Klux Klan was restrained.

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[21]This anecdote was given by Judge I. T. Blount, Water Valley, Mississippi.

[22]This was told by Judge I. T. Blount and by T. F. Brown, of Grenada, Mississippi.

[23]Colonel M. D. L. Stephens was born in Williamson County, Tennessee, November 9, 1829. His early life was spent in Marshall County, Mississippi. He studied medicine at Louisville, Kentucky, and afterwards practiced at Banner, Mississippi. He was a member of the secession convention, and at first voted against secession, but on the final passage of the act, he recorded his vote for the measure.

When war broke out he immediately enlisted in a company of his native State. He was brave and fearless, and at the close of the war was colonel of the twenty-ninth Mississippi regiment. In his own town, Water Valley, he served as chancery clerk and as city clerk always with honor and credit. He endeared himself to every one who knew him, and his death on April 17, 1911, was mourned by the entire community. Colonel Stephens was eighty-three years of age when he died and was active to the last, performing faithfully his duties as notary public.

Hon. John M. Moore was also a Democratic leader in Yalobusha County.[24] In 1877 he was elected to represent the county in the legislature, and served two years. He was elected several times to the position of mayor of Oakland. He was chairman of the county Democratic central committee in the reconstruction period when the Greenback party held sway, and was active in allaying the disturbances which were then rife in that part of the county.

H. L. Duncan was a leading lawyer in Water Valley. He was born in Calhoun County, served in the Confederate army, and was elected to the State senate for the term 1872-1874.

Other Democrats who did conspicuous work in Yalobusha County were George H. Lester, R. H. Gollady, Zack D. Jennings, David W. Rogers, Dr. H. L. Bakstrom, Capt. Buck Wynne, Capt. John Powell, Colonel Owen, Crawford Statham, and James Crowder.

Bob Dudley or "Banjo Dudley,"[25] as he was called, was a negro who had belonged before the war to the Dudley family of Grenada. Unlike the majority of blacks, he held closely to his white friends. He was a leader among his people and the head of the negro Democratic club. On one occasion, when there was a torch-light procession in Grenada, he rode up to the post-office at the head of a mounted company of negroes, where they stopped and sang, "Carve dat 'Possum" in a very insulting manner to the carpetbagger, Price, who was then postmaster.[26]

Austin Dudley was another negro in Grenada who was not lured away by the promises of the carpetbaggers. Before the war he had belonged to Capt. B. S. Dudley. It was due to Austin Dudley that the Loyal League was finally disbanded. The whites got him to join the organization so that he could tell the

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[24]John M. Moore was born near Oakland in 1841. He was educated in the schools of that town. At eighteen he became á salesman in a store, an occupation which he followed until 1862, when he served sixty days as a private. Later he engaged in planting and merchandising. He traveled for a Cincinnati firm from 1873-1882.

[25]So called because of his ability to play the banjo.

[26]This information was given by Mrs. P. S. Dudley, Grenada, Mississippi.

names of the leading men in it. When the members of the league heard of the betrayal, they tried to kill him, but the Democrats protected him.[27]

Bob Reed was a negro who was very proud of being a Democrat. Once, when some Democratic speakers were addressing a gathering in Coffeeville, he was sitting on the edge of the platform. One of the speakers made some remark about negro Democrats, and Bob Reed proudly announced that he was one. The speaker brought down his fist and said:

"And I tell you, you'll hold the inquest over the carcass of the Republican party."[28]

Other negro Democrats who ought to be remembered because of their fidelity to their white friends were Ben Statham, John Golding, John Cooley, and Frank Mayhew.

William Price[29] was the most hated carpetbagger of Yalobusha County. He came to Grenada as chaplain of a negro regiment, before the carpetbag era began. He was from Ohio, as were also his two sons-in-law, Lincoln and Kelly. Before removing to Grenada Price had carried on a correspondence with Col. A. S. Pass over a watch which the latter had lost in the war, and which Price had obtained in some way. By returning it to its owner Price ingratiated himself with the people of Grenada. He leased a small farm, hoping to make his fortune out of cotton culture. He was a preacher, and was noted for his eloquence. When he first came to the county he was very poor, but he soon accumulated a good deal of property. He associated with the negroes, even to the point of entertaining them at his home and of teaching a negro school. His wife and daughter had a millinery establishment in Grenada. A year or two after coming to the county he got into politics, but he held no State office until after the formation of Grenada County in 1870. At one time he

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[27]This was told by Mrs. P. S. Dudley and Mr. W. E. Smith.

[28]This anecdote was told by Dr. T. F. Brown, of Grenada, Mississippi.

[29]This sketch of Price, Lincoln, and Kelley is based on information received from Mrs. P. S. Dudley, Mr. W. E. Smith, Mr. Tom Garner, and others.

published a newspaper in the town of Grenada. His wife was appointed postmistress in the reconstruction period, and Price acted for her. He was at the head of the Loyal League, and controlled almost every negro in the county. In 1871 he was mayor of Grenada, and in 1872 and 1876 he was elected State senator.

Lincoln and Kelley, his two sons-in-law, were leaders in the Loyal League. The three men, Price, Lincoln, and Kelley, were the instigators of most of the trouble in Yalobusha County. It is said that they were very pleasant people socially. Lincoln was the best man of the three. It is said that he preferred to do right. He studied law under Capt. W. B. Barksdale. At one time he was chancery clerk of Grenada County. As there were then five negro supervisors on the board, he ran matters to suit himself. Kelley was not as good a character as Lincoln. Price and Kelley were notified by the Ku Klux Klan in 1875 to leave Grenada, and they went back to the North. Lincoln was afterwards appointed a consul to Canton, China.

The negro who stirred up the most strife in Yalobusha County in the reconstruction period was John Scurlock.[30] He was a saddle-colored negro who, though born in slavery, was the acknowledged son of a Yankee teacher who had plied his vocation in the county before the war. This negro, Scurlock, had received a smattering education and, being nearly white, was, of course, recognized as a leader of the race. Be it said to his credit, he had sense enough to recognize the inevitable superiority of the white men when he came in contact with them. His word was law with the negro race throughout the county. A few white renegades allied themselves with Scurlock and through him attempted to rule the people and fill the offices. Whenever they wanted a meeting they simply asked Scurlock to "call the clans" and it was done. Scurlock was a very tall negro, about seven feet high. He was generally known as "Little John Scurlock."[31]

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[30]This sketch is based on information obtained from Judge L. T. Blount, of Water Valley, Mississippi.

[31]This was told by Dr. T. F. Brown.

In 1872 he ran for the legislature, but was defeated by W. A. Benson. He is said to have been killed by the Ku Klux Klan.[32]

Dave Green or "Bishop Green," as he was called, was a negro preacher who lived in Grenada. He was a devoted friend of Price and Kelley. Dave Green was elected to the legislature as a representative, though he had been convicted of hog stealing just before the election. He was a very black, common, old negro.[33]

Ben Booth, a negro, was postmaster in Water Valley for two or three years. It is said that he was polite and accommodating. The post office was robbed in his administration, and he was removed. He and Scurlock led the negroes in the county.[34]

Pat Drake and Jeff Jones were the most prominent negroes in the western part of the county. Pat moved a few years ago to Oklahoma, and from there to Canada. Jeff is living several miles east of Oakland. He is very old and is partially paralyzed.[35]

Other negro Republican leaders were Moses Collins, Burrel Talbot, Roland Collins, Tom Spearman, and Sidney Hoskins.

Some of the Southern men who became Republicans were James Townsend, Green Dubard, and Bill Davis.[36]

Mr. M. K. Mister, a scalawag, was postmaster of Grenada at one time. He had a great many negro followers.[37]

R. V. Pearson[38] was born in Yalobusha County, his father having moved there in the forties. He fought on the Southern side in the War of Secession; was a noted sharp-shooter, having

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[32]This statement is made by Mr. Frank Smith in a history of "Reconstruction in Yalobusha County," published in the Water Valley *Itemizer* in September, 1908.

[33]This information was obtained from Mr. W. E. Smith, Dr. T. F. Brown, Mr. Tom Garner and Mr. Dubard.

[34]This information given by Capt. J. M. Allen, of Water Valley.

[35]This information was received from Mr. James Moore, of Oakland, Mississippi, and Mr. N. M. Copeland, of Coffeeville, Mississippi.

[36]This information was received from Mrs. P. S. Dudley.

[37]This information was given by Mrs. P. S. Dudley.

[38]This information was given by R. V. Pearson, Capt. J. M. Allen and Mr. Francis Herron.

killed on one occasion a Northern officer at the distance of a mile. After the war he moved from the country to town (Water Valley), where he became city marshal. He was a Democrat, and was courteous and accommodating. He later became an Independent in order to obtain the office of sheriff. At first he announced as a Democratic candidate for that office, but when he attended the convention at Coffeeville in 1876, he found that he would be defeated by Tom Garner, another Democratic candidate. A majority of the convention was unwilling to divide candidates with Water Valley. Pearson's friends, therefore, advised him to announce as an Independent, which he did and was elected. He held the office of sheriff altogether for ten years. He was a capable man, popular with the people, and after his second term as sheriff the Democrats put him on their ticket, and he was elected without opposition.[39] Pearson was the principal figure in the riot which occurred in Coffeeville in 1880. He is now living with his son about a mile and a half from Grenada.

A. T. Wimberly[40] was a Greenbacker. He came from Memphis to Coffeeville, where he married and went into business under the firm name of "Wimberly and Leonard." Wimberly did not identify himself with the Republican but with the Independent or Greenback party. He led the colony of about four hundred negroes, at that time living just within the limits of Coffeeville. He was a failure as a business man, an office-holder, a politician, and a farmer. By means of the negro vote he was elected to the office of chancery clerk, but he had to get deputies to fill the place, as he was not competent. Wimberly was much hated by the whites of the county. He lived on the top of a high hill which overlooked the neighborhood. Lately the house in which he lived has been torn down, and it was found to be full of port-holes. It is supposed that he intended to defend himself, if necessary.[41] Wimberly owed his prominence

[39]Statement of Mr. Francis Herron, of Coffeeville, Mississippi.

[40]This information was received from Mr. Wiley Brannon and Mr. Francis Herron, of Coffeeville.

[41]Statement of Mr. Durant, postmaster at Coffeeville, Mississippi.

in politics to the fact that he allied himself with such strong men as Col. M. D. L. Stephenson and Vol. Pearson.[42] He was a handsome and entertaining man. He removed from Coffeeville to Friars Point, where he turned Republican, and was elected chancery clerk. He finally became a custom house official in New Orleans, at which place he died in poverty and was buried at the public expense.[43]

J. T. Bibens[44] belonged to the Greenback party. He was a lawyer from Oakland, and was everything that was mean. He delighted in stirring up the negroes against the whites, and was the cause of a riot in Water Valley. While editing a newspaper in Coffeeville he got into a fight with a man named Parker from Water Valley and killed him. Bibens now lives in Texas.

Organizations Political and Semi-Political.

Federal Troops.

A force of infantry was stationed in Grenada from the very beginning of the reconstruction period. The barracks were a little south of the building now known as Grenada College. The college was used for a hospital and for the officer's quarters.[45] In 1866 a company of cavalry was sent to Grenada.[46] General Pennypacker was at the head of the garrison for a long time.[47] He was a brave, gallant officer, and was liked by the people. He sympathized with the South, and several times, when citizens were to be arrested, he dropped a timely hint so that they might leave.[48] General Rosecrans and Maj. Arthur W. Allyn also had command of the garrison at different times.[49] The former of these men was respected, but the latter was hated, by the people.

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[42]Statement of Mr. Francis Herron.
[43]Statement of Mr. Francis Herron.
[44]This information was given by Mr. Alfred Kendel, of Oxford, Mississippi.
[45]This information was obtained from Mrs. P. S. Dudley.
[46]*The Oxford Falcon* of December 8, 1866.
[47]Statement of Mr. W. E. Smith.
[48]This information was obtained from Dr. Hughes, of Grenada, Mississippi, and Mr. W. E. Smith.
[49]Statemtnt of Mrs. P. S. Dudley.

There were also some colored troops stationed at Grenada.[50] They were often rude and insulting, and no lady dared go upon the streets alone.[51] The colored troops were for a short time commanded by white men, but at one time they had negro officers. Albert Floyd was a negro colonel who commanded the colored troops. He was succeeded by Col. Bowery Collins, another negro.[52] These negro troops roamed through Grenada, taking whatever pleased their fancy.[53]

One day Mr. Jim Patterson, a citizen of Grenada, was walking down one of the main streets of the town with a turkey under his arm. A negro soldier came up to him, snatched the turkey away, and ran down the street. Some white men on horseback saw the affair, pursued the negro, and forced him to return the turkey.[54]

The Federal troops often interfered with the civil authorities. For example, on January 10, 1868, Mr. Robert Chatham, a well known citizen of Grenada and a man of good character, was provoked into a difficulty with a carpetbagger named Tullidge. Tullidge had a bad reputation, and was the head of the Freedmen's Bureau in Grenada. He had been slandering Chatham. They met on the street. Chatham administered a well deserved thrashing to Tullidge and then surrendered himself to the civil authorities. But Maj. A. W. Allyn, commander of the post, took Mr. Chatham out of their hands and had him placed in confinement at the camp, refusing bail and stating he did not recognize the civil authorities.[55]

When there were disturbances in other parts of the county troops from Grenada were promptly sent to the scene of the trouble. During General Ord's administration there were 256

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[50]Statements of Mrs. P. S. Dudley, Mr. W. H. Winter, and Mr. W. E. Smith.

[51]Statement of Mrs. P. S. Dudley.

[52]Information received from Mr. W. H. Winter.

[53]Information from Mrs. P. S. Dudley.

[54]This story was told by Mr. W. H. Winter.

[55]This information was obtained from an extract copied from the *Grenada Sentinel* by the *Oxford Falcon* of January 11, 1868, and also from statement of W. E. Smith, Grenada, Mississippi.

soldiers stationed at Grenada; and in Ames' administration there were 173.[56]

The commander of the post at Grenada was forbidden to recognize any writ of habeas corpus issued by a Federal court for the release of prisoners in their custody, the purpose being to prevent the testing of the legality of arbitrary arrests by the military authorities.[57]

Freedmen's Bureau.

The office of the Freedmen's Bureau in Yalobusha County was established at Grenada in the latter part of the spring of 1865, when the Federal soldiers took possession.[58] It was not very active, except in Grenada itself and in the immediate vicinity. As a rule, grievances from more remote parts of the county were reported at Vicksburg.[59] The principal work of the bureau in Grenada was to settle all troubles and disputes between the whites and negroes. It usually served, however, to enrich the officer in charge, who were usually corrupt men. When a negro would go to him with a complaint against a white man, the officer would look wise, pity the poor negro, and tell him he would see that his wrongs were righted and the white man punished. When the white man came in and told his side of the controversy (whether right or wrong), he usually placed a dollar or more in the hand of the officer, who would dismiss the case and tell the white man that he would be happy to see him again.[60]

One of the duties of the Freedmen's Bureau was to provide for the destitute people of the community and to issue provisions for that purpose. June 1, 1867, 500 sacks of corn and 4,000 pounds of pork were ordered by Gen. A. C. Gillem, assistant commander of the Freedmen's Bureau in Mississippi, for distribution in Grenada.[61]

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[56]Garner's *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 171, 230.
[57]Ibid., 234.
[58]Statement of Mrs. P. S. Dudley.
[59]Statement of Col. M. D. L. Stephens, of Grenada, Mississippi.
[60]This statement was made by Mr. J. L. Townes, Hardy, Mississippi.
[61]*Oxford Falcon*, June 1, 1867.

In 1866 Lieutenant Blooding, who was the head of the department at that time, was assassinated by Tom Wilson, a Southern man of desperate character.[62] The reason for this act could not be ascertained by the writer.

In 1868 Tullidge, a carpetbagger, was at the head of the bureau. He disappeared very suddenly in January, 1868, possibly because public sentiment was so bitter against him after his difficulty with Robert Chatham of Grenada. The *Grenada Sentinel* thus expresses itself over his departure:

> "Exit Tullidge—God be praised that this contemptible poltroon and sneak has left our city. We don't know what took him away, but we are as thankful that he is gone, as we would be at the disappareance of the small-pox.[63]

The Freedmen's Bureau upset all planting interests, as the negroes thought that it would support them and that there was no need for them to work.[64]

Although the Freedmen's Bureau was rather inactive, in one or two instances it tried very serious cases. On one occasion a negro cook hired to Mr. Joe Harris, who lived near Grenada, cursed Mr. Harris' wife. Mr. Harris got his gun and the negro woman ran away. He then shot into the air to frighten her. She reported him to the Freedmen's Bureau in Grenada. Mr. Harris was arrested, given a military trial, and committed to jail in Vicksburg. He died in prison before his release.[65] Capt. James Crowder, a citizen of Grenada, was once brought to trial by the Freedmen's Bureau. He had accidentally ridden over and injured a negro child. He experienced the greatest difficulty in proving his innocence.[66] J. O. Q. Smith of Coffeeville was once brought to trial for beating a negro wage-hand named Moses. Moses reported his grievance to the Freedmen's Bureau at Grenada, and a squad of a hundred soldiers was sent to bring Smith to Grenada. He was put into prison and not given any-

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[62]Information from Mr. W. E. Smith.
[63]*Grenada Sentinel* January 25, copied from the *Oxford Falcon* of February 1, 1868.
[64]Statement of Mrs. P. S. Dudley.
[65]Information from Mrs. P. S. Dudley and Mr. W. H. Winter.
[66]Information given by Mrs. P. S. Dudley.

thing to eat for three days. Meanwhile a negro named Bill Sherman advised Moses not to appear at the trial. Sherman then testified to the fact that Smith was a good man and had treated his negroes with respect. This resulted in the dismissal of the case.[67]

Loyal Leagues.

Loyal Leagues were organized throughout Yalobusha County. Their effect was chiefly felt around Grenada where the Federal soldiers and Freedmen's Bureau were stationed. The carpet-baggers, Price, Lincoln, and Kelley, were at the head of the organization in that city.[68] Col. Bowery Collins, commander of the negro troops, was one of the leading negroes in the league.[69] "Little John" Scurlock was the leader in the Coffeeville neighborhood. Ben Booth, the negro postmaster at Water Valley, organized the negroes in the northern part of the county.[70] Jerry Ely was the leader in the Silvarena neighborhood, about six miles from Water Valley.[71] Joe Diggs was at the head of the league in the Riverdale neighborhood.[72]

Members of the Loyal League took a solemn oath always to go armed. They had a vague idea that they would ultimately exterminate the whites.[73] The organization consequently kept the negroes and whites in constant animosity.

The league meetings were generally held at night. In Water Valley they would often march through the streets, beating drums and tin pans and making all kinds of noises. The white men connected with the league were usually place-hunters who allied themselves with the negroes in order to get their vote.[74]

During a certain election in Grenada, the members of the Loyal League collected in the country, and marched upon the town,

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[67]Frank Smith's "History of Reconstruction," in the *Water Valley Itemizer*, September 17, 1908.
[68]Information from Mrs. P. S. Dudley.
[69]Statements of W. C. Smith and W. H. Winter.
[70]Statements of J. M. Allen.
[71]Statements of Mr. R. M. Boyston, Water Valley, Mississippi.
[72]Statement of Mr. Dubard, Grenada, Mississippi.
[73]Statement of Mr. W. H. Winter.
[74]This statement is made on the authority of Judge I. T. Blount.

saying they would vote as they pleased. Although there were about a thousand of these negroes, the white citizens decided to defeat the scheme. They put Captain Price, the carpetbagger, in front of the advancing negroes and told him to give the word of command for the negroes to disband or they would shoot a cannon, and at the same time hang him "as high as Haman." The word was given and the blacks retired.[75]

The list of crimes perpetrated by the Loyal League is a long one. One of the most atrocious was the shooting of a deaf and dumb negro boy, named Jesse Quinn. He was an important witness to the assassination of Mr. Robert McSwine, which took place on July 29, 1868. Although there was only one gentleman, Mr. Crawford Statham, who could understand the boy's sign language, the members of the Loyal League feared a betrayal and had him shot.[76]

The Loyal League was disbanded in 1875. Austin Dudley, a faithful Democratic darky, joined the organization at the request of his white friends, and divulged the names of all persons connected with it. The Ku Klux Klan lost no time then in getting rid of the chief offenders and leaders.[77]

Ku Klux Klan.

The Ku Klux Klan was organized in Yalobusha County in 1867 and lasted until 1875. Its purpose was to keep unruly whites and negroes under control. Members of the klan took an oath to put down negro supremacy.[78] An organization of this kind was necessary to curb the insolence of the negroes, and above all, to protect the homes of the white people.

There were dens of Ku Klux at Water Valley, Coffeeville, Grenada, Oakland, Pine Valley, and Sardinia (now extinct). They were composed of the best men in the county, some of whom had fought in the War of Secession. Col. M. D. L.

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[75]Information given by Mrs. P. S. Dudley and Mr. W. E. Smith.
[76]*Grenada Sentinel,* August 8, 1868; also statement of Mrs. P. S. Dudley.
[77]Information given by Mrs. P. S. Dudley.
[78]Statement of Mr. W. H. Winter.

Stephens of Water Valley was the "Grand Cyclops" of the klan in the northern district, which extended as far south as Black Hawk in Carrol County. He was also at the head of the local Water Valley den.[79] Capt. John Powell was the leader of the Grenada den,[80] and Capt. James M. Taylor of the Coffeeville den.[81] Hal Fisher, son of Judge Fisher of Grenada, was commander of the Tallahatchie den, and Mr. W. H. Winter of the Pea Ridge den.[82] The Pine Valley den was very active.

The costume worn by members of the klan was usually made by their wives. It was either a white, loose-flowing garment or a black robe with white stripes across the breast, and a tall, pointed cap, three-fourths of a yard long.[83] They wore tin buttons on the front of their clothes. These were made by a tinsmith, named Henery Nance, who lived in Oakland.[84] The horses were covered with sheets to keep them from being recognized.

The Ku Klux Klan in Grenada was organized by seven prominent citizens in the bank building, in a room directly over a barber shop. It met in the back room of some store, in a deserted house, or in the cemetery. Lights were not allowed.[85]

The klan in Yalobusha County used the methods followed by the organization in other parts of the South. From seventy-five to a hundred members would meet at an appointed place and ride to the home of the negro victim. Sometimes they would deliver a warning after the ceremony of disposing of several buckets of water ("the first they had drunk since they were killed at Shiloh") by means of a rubber pouch or a hose arranged for the purpose. At other times they would whip their victim or order him to leave the county. They would often take off their heads and ask the negro to hold it while they adjusted their backbone.[86] This method usually had the desired effect upon the ignorant, superstitious negroes.

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[79]Statement of Col. M. D. L. Stephens.
[80]Statement of Mr. W. H. Winter.
[81]Statement of Mr. Wiley Brannon and Mr. Francis Herron.
[82]Statement of Mr. W. H. Winter.
[83]Statement by Col. M. D. L. Stephens and Mr. Tom Garner.
[84]Statement by Mr. Moore, Grenada, Mississippi.
[85]Statements of Col. M. D. L. Stephens and Mr. Tom Garner.
[86]This statement was made by Jerry Weather, a negro preacher of Grenada.

If they had to deal with a crowd of drunken negroes they would ride up shooting pistols, or would suddenly throw among the negroes an ear of corn, the pith of which had been removed and the hole filled with powder and lighted. The explosion would make a great deal of noise, and the flying grains of corn would invariably cause the negroes to disperse.[87]

In only a few instances was the Ku Klux Klan betrayed by its members. Green Dubard of Grenada joined the klan to learn who were its members and then reported them to the Federal authorities. General Pennypacker, who was always very lenient towards the Southern people, secretly notified several members before they could be arrested, and some of them immediately left Grenada. Hal Fisher went to Texas. Those who remained were arrested and taken to Oxford for trial. They were defended by L. Q. C. Lamar.[88]

Bud Green, who joined the Coffeeville klan for the purpose of betraying it, went to Jackson and gave the names of the members to the Federal authorities. An investigation followed, but nothing more was done. When Green returned to Coffeeville he was shot to pieces by members of the klan.[89]

One of the most atrocious murders ever committed in Yalobusha County was the assassination of Robert McSwine. The Ku Klux Klan took speedy vengeance upon the murderers. Robert McSwine was a noble-hearted young fellow, a graduate of the University of Mississippi. He had married a lovely Southern girl only a few months before his death. Being employed as overseer on the plantation of Mr. W. E. Statham near Grenada, Mr. McSwine reported to his employer the misconduct of two negroes, Gilbert Quinn and Tom McLain. The following night, when McSwine was sitting on the edge of his bed talking to his wife who had just retired, he was shot from the window and instantly killed. The two negroes, Tom McLain and Gilbert

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[87]These statements are made on the authority of Mr. Leland, of Water Valley, Mississippi.

[88]This information was obtained from Messrs. W. H. Winter, Tom Garner and W. E. Smith.

[89]This information was received from Col. M. D. L. Stephens and Mr. Wiley Brannon, of Coffeeville.

Quinn, were arrested for the deed by the military authorities. It was supposed that they had murdered McSwine in order to prevent his taking the case to the Freedmen's Bureau. The negroes accused Mr. Statham of doing the shooting, and he was arrested, but promptly acquitted by Judge Fisher. The murderers were then turned over to the civil authorities and placed in the jail at Coffeeville. Meanwhile, the loyal leaguers were planning to rescue them, alleging that they were innocent.

The murder was committed on Wednesday, July 29, 1868. On Friday night following the streets of Coffeeville were suddenly crowded with masked horsemen, and every important point was picketed. A body of horsemen surrounded the jail, broke down the fence, and demanded admission. The deputy sheriff, Mr. J. T. Garner, and the jailor, Mr. A. B. Conner, vainly attempted to defend the prisoners. The door was broken open and these officers were soon overpowered. The lower inside door of the cell was then forced open and two men with sledge hammers commenced to break down the first cell door, when the key which the jailor had positively refused to surrender was found, and in a few minutes the prisoners were led out. They made no resistance, thinking they were being released by the Loyal League. When they were told their fate, they made a full confession. Tom McLain had done the deed and Gilbert Quinn had brought the ammunition and urged him on. The negroes were promptly hanged from the limb of a sweet gum tree, the same rope being used for both. The Grenada den of Ku Klux were not in the raid, as they were closely watched by members of the Loyal League. When the Loyal League found that they had been outwitted, they were eager for revenge, and for several months the Statham family did not dare have a light in their home after dark. Reference has already been made to the murder of Jesse Quinn, the deaf and dumb negro boy, who was a witness to the assassination of Robert McSwine.[90]

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[90]Information concerning these incidents was obtained from Mrs. P. S. Dudley, sister of the Mr. W. E. Statham; Mr. T. P. Carr, of Water Valley; Mr. J. T. Garner, M. W. E. Smith, and other reliable persons; also from the *Grenada Sentinel* of August 8, 1868.

At another time three persons, a negro man with his wife and twelve-year-old son, were taken from jail in Coffeeville and shot to death by the Ku Klux Klan for attempting to kill a white woman, Mrs. Hale, the wife of the county treasurer. These negroes were employed on the place of Mrs. Hale's son with whom she lived. While he was away from home they broke into his house and, finding his mother in bed, struck at her with an axe. But they failed of their purpose, and Mrs. Hale finally recovered from the blow.[91]

In Water Valley, the wife of a railroad man, who was absent from home at the time, was insulted by a negro. In defending herself she scratched the negro's face. The Ku Klux Klan identified the man by these marks and took him to a place south of the town and hanged him. Meanwhile the woman's husband came back and took the negro's body and burned it. General Pennypacker came from Grenada with a company of soldiers to investigate the case. Col. M. D. L. Stephens took him to the courthouse, where the best men of the town had assembled. General Pennypacker asked who had committed the deed, and Colonel Stephens told him that public sentiment had done it, adding:

"If you had left your wife in our charge, we would have done the same thing for her. We had nothing to do with burning the body."

General Pennypacker replied that they had done right, but that the burning was wrong.[92]

The Ku Klux Klan on another occasion heard of a meeting of bad whites and negroes in a schoolhouse west of Water Valley. They rode to the place and were fired upon by parties attending the meeting. The klan then returned the fire, and a small battle ensued. There was a load of hay in the yard, which the ku kluxers piled around the schoolhouse and set on fire. Then they rode off, and the building was burned to the ground. This is the only case of destruction of school property in the county in the reconstruction period.[93]

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[91]Information from Mr. Francis Herron, of Coffeeville, Mississippi.
[92]Information given by Col. M. D. L. Stephens.
[93]Information given by Col. M. D. L. Stephens.

William (Billy) Howles, a citizen of Grenada, happened to pass by an old house where the Loyal League was holding a political meeting. They caught him, tied him to a tree, and left him with a guard, intending to kill him after the meeting. By chance the Ku Klux Klan was out on a raid that night, and they found him and set him free. One of the gentlemen who related this incident to the writer remarked very significantly, that "the negro guard got lost in the woods and was never seen again."[94]

A German blacksmith by the name of Miller, who lived at Coffeeville, was once visited by the Ku Klux Klan because he had been beating his wife. He had served in the Confederate army, being detailed to shoe horses in General Walthall's division. But he was very fond of whisky and when drunk would beat his wife. The klan thought they might be able to reform him and, taking him out to the grave-yard one night, they gave him seventy-five lashes with a three-inch strap. They then told him to go home and be good to his wife. Miller promised he would, but next morning got drunk again, accused his wife of reporting him to the Ku Klux Klan, and proceeded to whip her until General Walthall, hearing her screams, went to her relief. The case was reported to the mystic circle. Miller was taken to the same place as before, stripped, laid across a log, and with the same strap blistered from his heels to his ears. After this whipping Miller stopped drinking and made a good husband. He died respected by his neighbors.[95]

Turner Nichelson was a negro who had belonged to Mr. Carter Nichelson, but upon the death of his master was sold to I. O. Pearson. Both of these men gave Turner a good name. After the war Turner lived on Mr. Pearson's farm until January, 1866. Then he said, "I am a free man and will go and come as I please." He moved to the farm of Mr. Bill Evans. From day to day he grew more insolent and finally said to his wife:

"Jane I am a free man. I am not afraid of no damn white man nor the Ku Klux. I am going to make you my housekeeper, marry a white woman, make her my cook and live at ease."

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[94]Information received from Mr. W. E. Smith and Mr. Tom Garner.
[95]Information from Mr. T. P. Carr, Water Valley, Mississippi.

This was reported to the mystic circle of the Ku Klux Klan, which sent a body of men to attend to Turner. They found him under his wife's bed. He was ordered out, but it took four stout men to convince him that he had to come. He was taken about five hundred yards from Mr. Evans' house and given three hundred and fifty lashes with a three-inch strap. Turner promised his wife that he would make her a good husband, and that he would be the white man's friend as long as he lived. He kept his promise and lived to a ripe old age, respected by his white neighbors. The whipping of Turner was soon known by all the negroes in the neighborhood, and it put a stop to their desire for white wives.[96]

One night the Ku Klux Klan went to Hardy station to deliver a warning to a negro who had been guilty of misconduct. When they rode up to his home, he put a gun out of the window and fired among them. They then brought him out of the house and hanged him, though they had no intention at first of killing him.[97]

There was a negro named Percy McFarland living about four miles south of Water Valley. He was a Republican leader, and, being a bad negro, he gave the white people much trouble. A son of whom he was very fond died and was buried. The Ku Klux Klan placed one of their members in a coffin and put the coffin in the negro's grave, just beneath the surface of the ground, covering it with leaves. At night they carried Percy to the place and pretended to dig up the coffin and open it. The man within announced to the negro in a hollow voice that he was his son and told his "father" to behave himself and to stick closely by the white people; for they were the best friends he had. Percy McFarland received a good fright, and the whites had no more trouble with him.[98]

A bad negro named Wash Evans told the other negroes not to fear the Ku Klux Klan. One night the klan frightened him so badly that he said he had to stay "on the side of the white people" the rest of his life.

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[96]Information from Mr. T. P. Carr.
[97]This information was received from Mr. W. H. Winter.
[98]This information was received from Dr. T. F. Brown.

Hal Fisher, the captain of the Tallahatchie klan, pretended to hang a Republican negro, Bob Purdy, in the day time. The negro was left hanging only a few seconds, but it frightened him so badly that he joined the Democrats. His wife was so enraged that she deserted him. Bob always had the greatest respect for Fisher after the hanging.[99]

The negro leader, John Scurlock, was killed one night in Coffeeville by unknown parties. It was supposed that the deed was committed by the Ku Klux Klan, and little effort was made to find the murderers, as the negro was a very bad character.[100]

One night several Northern men were drilling about five hundred negroes near Grenada, and about a thousand more negroes were looking on. Thirty members of the Ku Klux Klan slipped quietly up behind some bushes within close range. Each of them picked out a man and at the appointed signal fired. After shooting several rounds they got on their horses and by daylight were thirty miles away. Some of the men were from the Panola County organization. They killed two of the officers and seventy-five negroes. The members were afraid to make an investigation and the Loyal League disbanded.[101]

Dr. Lott was a well-educated young man and belonged to a good family, which lived in New Orleans. While visiting in Oakland he fell in love with a young lady and proposed to her, but was refused. Learning she was to marry Dr. Durrit Barnes, a prominent young man of Oakland, he declared that the marriage should not take place. He went to the home of the young man, and shot him in the back, killing him instantly. Dr. Lott was arrested and put in the county jail, at Coffeeville. About five hundred of the Ku Klux Klan, fearing that Lott would not be punished on account of his influential position, battered down the doors of the jail, took him out and hanged him from horseback on a sweet gum tree.[102] It was thought by some people that Dr. Lott was

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[99]This information was received from Mr. W. H. Winter.

[100]Frank Smith's "Reconstruction in Yalobusha County," in the Water Valley *Itemizer*, September, 1908.

[101]Ibid.

[102]This information was given by Mr. Tobe Carr and Mr. Wiley Brannon.

hanged by friends of the man whom he had murdered. Others declare that it was the work of the Ku Klux Klan.

Democratic Clubs.

Negro Democratic clubs were formed in Yalobusha County in opposition to the Loyal Leagues. Those organizations were regulated and controlled by men like Walthall and Barksdale. Bob Dudley (negro) was president of the club in Grenada, and John Cooley (negro) was vice-president. These clubs were very active in the elections of 1875 and 1876.[103]

Government.

The men who had served on the board of police in 1865 were all true Democrats. Peter Johnson, president of the board, was a fine Southern gentleman, who did not fight in the war because of his advanced years. The fact that he was elected president of the board in the years 1865, 1867, 1872, 1873 and 1876 shows in what esteem he was held. John Buntin, of Oakland, was a member of the board in 1865. He was also too old to serve in the war.[104] T. W. Roberts, police commissioner in 1865, was an ex-Confederate soldier. Tom Ward served as county clerk before the war, during the war, and after the war, being re-elected in 1865 and 1867. R. L. Wilson, the sheriff in 1865, was also re-elected in 1867, 1876, 1878 and 1880. The first board of police after the war met in October, 1865. They elected Leiman Hale[105] treasurer and J. C. Gray probate judge.

In 1867 three new members took their place on the board. These were J. G. Kelley, Benjamin Williams, and W. B. Owing. They took the place of T. W. Roberts, John C. Stokes and James D. Crawford.

The minutes of the board of police in the years 1865-1870 are filled with appropriations for the support of paupers and contracts for making roads.

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[103]Statement of Mr. W. H. Winter. Accounts of other Democratic clubs will be found under the title "Campaigns and Elections" (see *infra*).

[104]Statement of Mr. Francis Herron.

[105] Leiman Hale's father was the first white settler in Yalobusha County.

In 1869 Ames, the carpetbag governor, removed all the Democrats and appointed Republicans. A. B. Hawkins then became president of the board. He was afterwards jailor in Coffeeville for a long time. He was killed by his nephew in a family quarrel.[106] L. French, a scalawag, succeeded Wilson as sheriff of the county. It is interesting to note that the board of supervisors refused to pay French his year's salary.[107] J. B. Townsend, the clerk of the probate court, was also a scalawag, but he was a good man and performed his duties creditably.[108] Through the influence of Price, Lincoln and Kelley, a shoemaker of Grenada by the name of Lilley, who sided with the Radicals, was made probate judge about this time. He was a very capable man, and served for many years.[109]

In 1870 Ames appointed another board, of which W. L. Brown was elected president. The county was fortunate in having John C. Branum for chancery clerk and Egbert Meaders for circuit clerk. Both of these men were good Southern Democrats and both had lost a leg in fighting for the South in the War of Secession.[110]

When Alcorn became governor, he appointed Bob Bruce, a Republican, to the office of sheriff. Bruce accepted the position on the condition that Wilson should serve for him.[111]

In 1872 Peter Johnson was again made president of the board after a five years' absence from official duty. Henry Vann, one of the members of the board, was a negro. He served with his former master, John O. Vann, and rendered himself useful to the other members who made him run errands, carry water, or do anything else they wished.[112] In January, 1873, he removed out of the limits of district No. 4, from which he was elected, and the office was declared vacant. A new election was ordered, which resulted in the choice of Thomas Powell. John Williams

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[106]Statement of Mr. Wiley Brannon.
[107]Frank Smith's *"Reconstruction in Yalobusha County,"* in the Water Valley *Itemizer,* September, 1908.
[108]Statement of Mr. Wiley Brannon.
[109]Statement of Mr. Jack Townes.
[110]Statement of Mr. Francis Herron.
[111]Ibid.
[112]Statement by Mr. Wiley Brannon.

was elected constable in 1872, but he resigned in February, 1873. In 1872 R. V. Pearson was elected sheriff. He was a very competent man, and served the county as sheriff for about ten years. The greater part of the minutes of the board of police during the years 1872 and 1873 is taken up with records of delinquent taxes.

The following entries for March 1, 1873, give an idea of the salaries of the board:

"Ordered that the members, clerks, and sheriff of this board be allowed for services as follows: Peter Johnson, one day, $6.40; W. W. Frost, $6.40; A. S. Pipkin, $5.80; Thomas Powell, $6.00; D. H. Ray,[113] $6.00; J. C. Branum, clerk, $3.00; R. V. Pearson, sheriff, $6.00."

In the year 1874 two negroes, Samuel Carr and Randolph Eggleston, were elected to serve on the board. Sam Carr was able to write his name,[114] but both negroes were mere figureheads, just as Henry Vann had been in 1872. The white members of the board carried on the government of the county. Randolph Eggleston was elected again in 1876, but all the other members chosen at that time were good Democrats.

In 1880 the notorious Greenbacker, A. T. Wimberly, was elected chancery clerk, and John Holly circuit clerk. While this election was going on a riot, which will be treated elsewhere, took place in Coffeeville.

Taken as a whole the government of the county was usually in good hands. If there was any fraud or extravagance perpetuated, which is doubtful, no trace of it remains in the records.[115]

Campaigns and Elections.

The Democrats were in power from 1865 to 1867, when the reconstruction measures were passed by Congress. These acts disqualified many of the white voters, and gave the negroes a majority. From that time the whites did all in their power to regain control, and disputes were hot and bitter between the

[113]D. H. Ray was a prominent physician of the county.

[114]Statement of Mr. Francis Herron.

[115]For a complete list of the board of police and supervisors see Appendix A.

Radical and Conservative parties. There was much political speaking, and debates were frequently held throughout the county.

The first spirited political campaign in the county arose over the adoption or rejection of the constitution of 1868. Strenuous efforts were put forth to defeat the constitution, and to the evident surprise of the Republicans the vote on the subject stood 932 in favor and 1,033 against the adoption. A few days after the election William Price, the hated carpetbagger, who was commissioner of the election in the county, made a report dated June 30, 1868, to John McRae, which reads in part as follows:

"I attended at Greysport, Hardy's Station, and each day at Grenada, and was present at the counting of the votes to-day; the other men you appointed as commissioners did not appear here, and I understand did not attend at the other precincts in the county, and hence, of course, none have to join me in this report. The election was as a whole a truly exciting one, more intense feeling manifested than I ever saw in an election. Nearly all of the whites were most bitterly opposed to some of the provisions of the constitution, and all of the art of persuasion, at least, was used to defeat it. The negroes, as a class, were nearly to a man in favor of voting for the constitution, but many did not carry out their intentions. Why? Fear in many cases of the results. I did not notice what may be called fraud, nor any acts of violence resorted to; but taking down names at the polls the two first days had its effect, I have no doubt, on some, and the pleadings of old friends and former owners had much to do in changing the intentions of the negroes. I did all in my power to discharge the duties you imposed upon me, as the officer I attended with can testify, but I can assure you it was no enviable position to occupy amid the prevalent feeling existing against the constitution and the Radical party in the county. It is, I think, exceedingly difficult to have a fair expression of public feeling in an election here now."

It seems, however, that the Republican leaders in the county suddenly changed their opinion of the election as stated in Price's letter and contended that the constitution was defeated through intimidation and fraud. In doing this they were doubtless prompted by the action of the Republican State convention which met in Jackson, November 25, 1868, and protested against accepting the election returns from certain counties, one of which was Yalobusha. This changed attitude is clearly shown by the following extract from a letter written at Natchez, December 5, 1868, by Charles A. Waldron and addressed to W. H. Gibbs, chairman of committee of five, Jackson, Mississippi:

"The election in the following named precincts, through intimidation,

violence, and fraud, was carried by the Democratic party: Water Valley, Coffeeville, Oakland, Bondurant, Duck Hill, Garner's Station, and Greysport. The registrar who polled the vote at Greysport went to Hardy Station and Grenada, where the election was held, without any interference on the part of the Democratic party. The commissioners of election appointed by your honorable body were prevented from acting at the first named precincts. The commissioner who acted at Greysport, Hardy Station, and Grenada, rendered his report for those precincts. In view of the intimidation, violence, and fraud perpetrated in Yalobusha County, I would earnestly recommend that your honorable body throw out all the precincts in Yalobusha County excepting Hardy Station and Grenada, thereby insuring the election of Republicans to the legislature, who were legally elected in said county."

In this connection a notorious scalawag, J. B. Townsend, determining that his voice should also be heard, wrote a letter to W. H. Gibbs from Grenada, Mississippi, December 3d. This letter contains the following statements:

"In relation to the election I can only say that it was more like a grand farce than anything else. At Oakland, Water Valley, and Coffeeville precincts in this county, neither white nor blacks could vote or did vote the Republican ticket. On the day of election at this place there were representatives from said precincts present at the polls, besides special appointees of the Grenada Democratic clubs, from the opening to the close, to see who voted the Republican ticket, and their presence and action received the following resolution of thanks from the Democratic club of this place, to wit:

"'*Resolved*, That we tender our sincere thanks to the gentlemen from Coffeeville, Water Valley, and other precincts, for the great service they have rendered during the past two days, and we earnestly request them to remain until the polls are finally closed.'

"The resolution was published in the *Grenada Sentinel* of July 4th. Those who voted the Republican ticket at Greysport precinct were actually posted on the door of Colonel M. K. Winter's store the next morning after the election, and remained until they were taken down per order of General Pennypacker. This procedure, however, did not, I am happy to say, deter your humble servant from doing his duty, as I believe it is proverbially known that I am the only white man in North Mississippi who had the moral courage to vote an open (stars and stripes) Republican ticket.

"I really believe the constitution would have been ratified in this county by a large majority if the people had been left to their own choice and judgment. Many blacks report not voting the Republican ticket for fear of losing their lives, others their situations, houses and livelihood. Many whites did not vote at all, and many have said since the election that they voted Democratic because they did not want to oppose the cloud."

The Democrats then presented in rebuttal an affidavit from Edmund Smith, colored, dated January 1, 1869. It reads as follows:

"This day personally appeared before me, E. Bradley, an acting

justice of the peace within and for the above-named county, Edmund Smith, freedman, who, after being duly sworn, deposeth and sayeth that he was present at and voted on the day of election held for the purpose of ratifying or rejecting the new constitution, framed by the late convention for the State of Mississippi, under the reconstruction acts of congress and by the order of the general commanding the district composed of the above written State and the State of Arkansas; that the said vote was cast freely and voluntarily, without fear or intimidation; that he remained at the place of voting all day; that he did not see or hear anything that was calculated to scare or intimidate voters, and that on the contrary he saw white men go to colored men and tell them to vote as they pleased; that they had the same right to vote that any other person had under the law; and further, that there were United States soldiers on the ground to see that the peace was undisturbed, and that they impartially discharged their duty.

his
"EDMUND X SMITH."
mark

Falkner Robinson, another freedman, also made affidavit, January 2, 1869, before E. Bradley, an acting justice of the peace, of Yalobusha County, to the effect that,

"He was present at the precinct of Water Valley; that he freely and uninfluenced by fear or favor voted against the ratification of said constitution, because he deemed the enfranchisement of the black men and the disfranchisement of white men odious; that he believed that the public school provision in said instrument was detrimental to his own race, by causing a feeling of hostility between the two races; that he saw other men of color go and vote voluntarily, and there were no threats used; that the election was conducted peaceably and quietly. And further, that he heard and saw old citizens go to the freedmen and tell them to vote as they pleased, that they had the same right to vote that any one had."

These statements were enforced by a third affidavit from F. H. Green, judge of election, made January 1, 1869. Among other things Mr. Green made oath as follows:

"I was appointed one of the judges of election by the district commander, General Gillam, in June last, and entered upon the discharge of my duties at Water Valley precinct on Monday, June 22, 1868, in the above State and county; from thence we proceeded to Bondurant's precinct; thence to Coffeeville, the county site; from thence to Grenada, where the election closed. At all of the precincts attended by me the election was conducted fairly, and voters, both white and black, came forward and deposited their ballots without bias, fear, or intimidation. I have attended a great many elections, and this was as free from excitement and conducted with more order and fairness than any I ever attended, and as to the charge of fraud or intimidation it is wholly inapplicable to the election, as held under my observation in this county."

The most interesting document in this connection, however, is the affidavit of a number of citizens of the county, as follows:

"Before me, John A. Kennedy, commissioner for the United States, duly authorized to administer oaths, etc., personally came the undersigned citizens of Mississippi, Yalobusha County, to me well known, who being by me first duly sworn, state on oath:

"I. That they are citizens living and resident in said county and State and qualified to exercise the right of franchise; that they attended the election held in said State of Mississippi in June, 1868, to ratify or reject the constitution adopted by the convention of said State; that, of their own knowledge, in the County of Yalobusha, the county of their residence, said election was held and conducted fairly, and strictly in accordance with the act of congress and military orders based thereon, and that all voters acted freely and without fear, threat, or compulsion, the only influence used or attempted to be used being in the nature of appeals to their reason and judgment; that the constitution was defeated by fair and legal means, and that the result is entirely satisfactory and reflects the express will of a large majority of the people of the State.

"2. That they had every opportunity to see the freeness and fairness of the vote cast, and that the said vote was as quiet and unembarrassed as any within their memory, and not the least approach of terrorism attempted to be used, and that in no instance was any person prevented directly or indirectly from voting for the ratification of the said constitution if he so desired.

"3. That the freedmen voted at that time selected their own ticket and voluntarily cast it for or against the said constitution, according to their preference, and that there was not even an appearance of intimidation used to influence them or control them by any person within their knowledge; that no freedman, so far as they know, was either kept from voting or caused to vote Democratic, but was left entirely free to exercise his own volitions.

"4. That the disfranchisements of the constitution then submitted are odious alike to white persons and freedmen, and that they verily believe that the said provisions of disfranchisement contributed largely to combine the better class of freedmen to act in co-operation with white persons for the defeat of the said constitution; and that, so far as they know, the colored population is universally opposed to disfranchisement of any person.

"5. That the said constitution was fairly defeated because of its many enormities and its general obnoxiousness to all classes, being an instrument of discrimination, disfranchisement, and perjury; and that they have reason to believe if the said constitution was again submitted to a vote, that a majority against it would be tripled, and that seven-eights of the freedmen in the State would vote against it.

6. That no question was made of the fairness of said election, so far as they know, although the convention provided the opportunity; as so also did the orders of General Gillem, and that they have reason to

believe that objection is only made by foreign adventurers who were thwarted in their purposes of plunder.

"J. M. Taylor,
S. B. Brown,
J. R. Boswell,
A. B. Mitchell,
J. B. Covington,
Robert G. Bruce, *postmaster;*
A. A. Bryant,
Caleb Cofer, *Freedman;*
J. J. Johnson,
L. Newburger,
John Persons, *Freedman;*
John L. Collins,
his
Levi X Murphree, *Freedman;*
mark
A. R. Ballard,
his
William X Hunter, *Freedman;*
mark
his
William X Wallance,
mark
Lorenzo Spearman,
James B. Gage,
L. F. Provin,
A. L. Gunthrop,
his
Jack X Andrus, *Freedman;*
mark
his
Sydney X Hanston, *Freedman;*
mark
Roland W. Jones.
his
Hope X Doyle,
mark
Jas. F. Meshe,
S. B. Hernn,
Samuel Ward,
R. A. Brown,
G. P. Bondurant.

"Sworn and subscribed this January 25, 1869.

J. H. KENNEDY,
Commisioner United States."

Although the charges of fraud were investigated by a congressional committee, the efforts to declare the election void did not accomplish the results which the Republicans had desired. The above extracts from the report of the committee are here given because of the light which they throw upon political conditions in Yalobusha County.[116]

In the presidential election of 1868 the Democrats in Yalobusha County were in favor of Horatio Seymour for president and Frank P. Blair for vice-president. At a meeting, held at Coffeeville to ratified the nomination of Seymour and Blair by the national Democratic convention, General Walthall made a speech of great force. He discussed the questions of the day, dissecting the platform and policy of the Radical party, showing their opposition to freedom, and declaring that they aimed at a blinding

[116]See Report of Committee in House Mis. Doc., No. 53, 40th Congress, 3d Session, pages 245-251.

despotism. He also explained the object of the Democratic platform, the only one wherein the rights of the South were mentioned and advocated. General Walthall was followed by Captain Brown, who delivered one of the most stirring addresses of the campaign. Then a committee of five men, Major James F. Mister, Capt. R. W. Jones, Dr. R. W. Harper, Capt. R. M. Brown, and Mr. J. H. Kennedy, was appointed to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting. This was done and the resolutions published.[117]

The Democrats held barbecues, picnics and torch-light processions, in order to attract the negroes and get their votes. In the years 1874, 1875, and 1876 these campaign methods were especially in evidence.[118] The Democrats tried to show the negro that the whites of the South were his friends and that the carpetbaggers were in the South only to swindle him and carry off his money. Their speeches, however, had little effect upon the negro, as he had been well drilled by his pretended friends, the carpetbaggers. The picnics and barbecues, which were attended by both whites and blacks, are thus described.[119]

"To visit one of those barbecues it looked like social equality sure enough. It was a ridiculous sight to see two or three hundred peoples, whites and negroes, eating at the same table. I remember one I attended, on each side of me was a big black man and my *vis a vis* were several great, big, black mammies. We did not discuss religion or politics but just waded into that 'blundering stew,' as they called it."

The negro men usually came to the picnics in squads headed by a negro officer. They thought, no doubt, they would frighten the white people present. The carpetbaggers did not attend. Leading Democrats always made speeches on these occasions. Walthall and Barksdale arranged most of the picnics, and they always spoke at them.[120]

The torch-light procession was another means used to obtain negro votes. Many such processions were held in Grenada in

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[117]*Grenada Sentinel* of August 8, 1868.
[118]This statement was made by Mr. —— Leland, of Water Valley, Mississippi.
[119]By Mr. J. L. Townes.
[120]Ibid.

1875. Long lines of whites and a few negroes marched through the streets, wearing red shirts with pistols in their belts. They would employ hands to beat drums and make as much noise as possible. In a wagon in one of the processions they had a man dressed in red with long horns and a tail to represent the devil. He stood in front of a large cauldron and held a figure of Price on a pitchfork over the cauldron. Price seemed to be the central figure for attack in all of these processions. One night a large coffin with "Price is dead" written on it was set down in front of the postoffice. The next morning Mrs. Price refused to open the postoffice until the coffin was removed, which had to be done before any one could obtain his mail. It was while one of these marches was in progress that the negro, Bob Dudley, rode up in front of the postoffice at the head of some negro troops and sang "Carve dat 'Possum" to Price.[121]

Great good was done by a Democratic club in Yalobusha County in the presidential election of 1876. Its members, about two hundred strong, started from Coffeeville, armed with an old cannon that had seen service in the Revolutionary War. They wore red shirts and red caps, and carried banners bearing the inscriptions "white man's county, white man's rule"; "We are going to control or die."[122] They encircled the entire county. Whenever they came to a community where the negroes were at all obstreperous, they would stop and shoot around for about half a day. Capt. Roland W. Jones was a leader in the procession,[123] in which negroes as well as whites took part. A serious accident occurred while they were in Coffeeville. A young man named Powell Randolph, who had charge of the cannon, had both arms blown off by an accidental discharge and a Mr. Baker, who was standing near, was killed.[124]

When they reached Water Valley, speeches were made by prominent men. L. Q. C. Lamar made a stirring address in

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[121]Information about torch-light pocessions was obtained from Mrs. P. S. Dudley.

[122]See Frank Smith's "Reconstruction in Yalobusha County."

[123]Statement of Mr. R. M. Boydston.

[124]This information was obtained from Mrs. P. S. Dudley, Dr. T. F. Brown and Mr. Wiley Brannon.

which he repeated John C. Calhoun's prophecy that in future years the profligate whites of the South would combine with the negroes.[125] Burkett, a Greenbacker, was buried in effigy, and Colonel Stephens, who was then running on the Greenback ticket, was hanged in effigy.[126] Judge Hugh K. Martin was master of ceremonies.

Torch-light processions were not confined to the Democrats in 1876. Gus Wimberly, a Greenbacker, organized the negroes, who rode through the county beating drums and making speeches.[127]

The Democrats of Yalobusha County helped carry elections in other counties, particularly in Tallahatchie. Water Valley loaned a cannon to Winona in one election.[128]

On one occasion Major Barksdale met Governor Powers in a joint debate at Grenada. Powers, who spoke first, was interrupted by Bob Ratcliffe, a Democratic negro, who said "Mister we niggars don't understand your language." General Walthall cried out, "Be quiet, Bob. Let the gentleman talk. We'll attend to him after while." When Powers had finished, Barksdale made a most eloquent speech, carrying all the negroes with him.[129] Dent challenged Alcorn to engage in a joint debate, and they met for the first time at Grenada in October, 1869.[130] In November, 1869, Sheridan and Hill were sent to Grenada to speak in the interest of the Radical party. When the speakers were announced, General Walthall and Major Barksdale asked for a division of time, but the request was flatly denied. Hill began with an inflamatory address, very abusive in language. He was followed by Sheridan. When Sheridan had finished the crowd called loudly for Captain Bowles, and then for General Walthall. Walthall did not at first desire to speak after having been denied a division of time. But he finally consented. The *Grenada Sentinel* says:

"His speech was a crusher,—a thunderbolt! An earthquake, swamp-

[125]Statement of Mr. J. M. Allen, of Water Valley, Mississippi.
[126]This statement was made by Capt. J. M. Allen.
[127]Statement of Mr. W. M. Copeland, Coffeeville, Mississippi.
[128]See Fred M. Witty's "Reconstruction in Montgomery County," in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* Vol. X.
[129]This anecdote was told by Mr. W. H. Winter.
[130]See Garner's *History of Reconstruction in Mississippi,* 244.

ing; a triumphant army could not be more decisive than his remarks were in wiping out the opposition. To use a common phrase, we have never heard a 'sockdolager' more completely accomplish its work than did the forcible and cutting remarks of General Walthall. In one sentence we pronounce it the most telling speech of the campaign."

General Walthall was followed by Major Barksdale, who completely routed the enemy[131]

Frauds and intimidations were often perpetuated in the elections of the reconstruction period in order to keep the negroes from voting or to make their votes count for the Democrats.

In one election the Republicans had the figure of a lion printed on their ticket. The Democrats got Mrs. Lizzie Fant,[132] of Holly Springs, to carve a lion for use in printing their tickets to make them resemble those of the Republicans. The Democrats would take their tickets and going up to some illiterate negroes, would ask to look at their ballots. The Republican tickets were thus quietly exchanged for Democratic tickets, and as the negroes could not read, they did not know the difference.[133]

A method of intimidation employed in Grenada was called "rushing the votes." When a negro went in the front door of the courthouse to vote, a couple of strong white Democrats would get behind him, seize him by the back and shoulders, and push him through the courthouse and out of the back-door. Mr. James Crowder and Mr. Crawford Statham were the men who were usually chosen to do this work. The negroes became so frightened by this treatment that they refused to vote.[134]

In Water Valley the Democrats once went to the polls and talked sociably with the Republican manager of an election, frequently offering him a drink of whisky, until he was drunk. Then they slyly changed boxes.[135]

Albert Floyd, a negro colonel, tried to crowd up to the ballot-box in Grenada on one occasion. Sergeant E. S. Petty, who was

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[131]This information was obtained from Mr. W. H. Winter and from the *Grenada Sentinel* of November 27, 1869.

[132]At present the teacher of art in Mississippi Synodical College, Holly Springs, Mississippi.

[133]Information given by Mrs. P. S. Dudley.

[134]Ibid.

[135]This information was given by a person who wishes his name withheld.

guarding the box, told him to stand back, but he refused and Sergeant Petty ran his bayonet into the negro's breast. Floyd could never be induced to vote again.[136]

Whisky was a very forcible means for carrying elections. In Grenada County, which was formed out of part of Yalobusha in 1870, Judge Fairfield and William Price were Republican candidates for office. The Democrats offered Fairfield several drinks, until finally "he was not quite steady." When he made his speech he said, "That Fellow Price is the grandest rascal in the country." The Democrats immediately brought him another toddy, when he added: "You say he's got the gospel in his heart. I tell you he's got rascality in his heart." All through his speech he abused Price, who was running on the same ticket with him.[137]

In one election the whites stationed guards around the polls and refused to let negroes vote unless they would surrender their arms. One gentleman[138] said he collected sixty-eight guns, which were given back when the negroes went home.

A so-called riot occured in Grenada in the presidential election of 1875. The negroes had been instructed by the carpetbaggers and scalawags to crowd around the polls so as to prevent the whites from voting. Jake Ransome, a white Democrat, insisted on voting and pushed into the crowd. One of the negroes shoved him and Ransome hit him over the shoulders with an axe handle which he held in his hand. Capt. R. S. Bowles, who saw the occurrence, cried out to put a sack of buck-shot in the cannon and turn it down Green street, the street on which the negroes were congregated. A stampede immediately took place. The continental guards, who had left their firearms in a store at one side of the square, ran for their guns. When they got inside, General Walthall locked the door in order to prevent bloodshed, if possible. He then jumped on a large dry goods box and tried to quiet the people; but when the negroes heard that the cannon

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[136]Statement of Mr. W. H. Winter.
[137]This information was obtained from Mr. W. H. Winter.
[138]Mr. W. E. Smith.

was to be turned down Green street, they left in terror. In a few minutes none could be seen on the square.

One negro, Barry Moss, a blacksmith from Spring Hill, had come into town that morning with two or three hundred followers. He rode on a very large, white horse. His saddle was one of the old-fashioned kind, sharp behind and before. He wore a high hat with a feather in it. When the riot broke out, he left hastily with his followers behind him. It is said he was in such a hurry that when he went through the river, "the waters parted behind him and his followers crossed over on dry land."

One negro who had left his horse tied on the square, jumped on his back and entirely forgetting the fact that he was tied, tried to make him go. The horse could only run around the post. The negro could not imagine what was the matter. Finally, he gave up in despair and ran off, leaving his horse tied.

Willis Davis, a negro leader, had come to the election that day with a large horse-pistol in his belt. It looked very ferocious, and many had remarked upon its size. When he heard there was to be a sack of buck-shot put into the cannon and turned down Green street, he fled in terror. He intended to hide under a bluff at the end of the street, but in getting over a wire fence at the head of the bluff, his long pistol caught in the wire and went off. Thinking he would certainly be captured, he rolled down into the gully and began pleading for mercy. It took a long time for him to find out that no one was trying to kill him.[139] After the negroes left, the whites easily carried the election. In this campaign William Price was forced to make a Democratic speech.[140] Soon after this the Loyal League disbanded and Price, Lincoln and Kelley were ordered to leave.[141]

Col. Tom Walton made a speech in Coffeeville in 1874. He was a Republican, and his speech aroused so much animosity among the whites that a committee had to be appointed, to see

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[139]This incident was related by Jerry Weather, a negro preacher, of Grenada.

[140]Garner's *History of Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 393.

[141]Information about this so-called riot was obtained from Mr. W. E. Smith, Mrs. P. S. Dudley, and others.

that he was not harmed and to escort him after the speaking to the hotel.[142]

The split in the Democratic party which resulted in the organization of the Greenback party occurred in 1876. In that year a nominating convention was held in Coffeeville. Coffeeville was jealous of Water Valley and refused to agree to a division of candidates. Water Valley wanted to nominate J. O. Kendricks for treasurer and Vol. Pearson for sheriff. Coffeeville would not agree to Kendricks' nomination, and wanted Tom Garner for sheriff, so the Water Valley people brought out their candidates on the Greenback ticket. Some of the best men in the county went with the Greenbackers, who won in the election by uniting with the Republicans and negroes.[143]

In 1875 a riot occurred in Water Valley over the imprisonment of two negroes for breaking into a house. J. T. Bibens, a bad man, stirred up the colored race by telling them that the whites were going to lynch the two negroes. That night a Mr. Johnson, who was going to his home in the country, was stopped by seventy-five armed negroes. They did not harm him, but told him he could go home, if he would not return. He went on and rode back another way to the town. He aroused some of the citizens and five of them went out to investigate. The negroes were concealed under a cliff, and the whites charged them from above. Several hundred shots were fired, and a number of the negroes were killed. The whites had the advantage of position, as they were above, and the negroes soon turned and fled. The whites pursued them and towards morning one old negro was found hiding in a ditch. He told the names of the others and by night most of them were in jail. Bibens left the county for Texas. Seventeen of the negroes were sent to the penitentiary, but the others were fined and let off lightly.[144]

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[142]See Frank Smith's "Reconstruction in Yalobusha County," in the Water Valley *Itemizer*, September, 1908.

[143]Information about this convention was obtained from Mr. R. V. Pearson, Mr. Moore Moore, Dr. T. F. Brown, and Capt. J. M. Allen.

[144]Information concerning this riot was obtained from Dr. Byers, of Water Valley, Capt. J. M. Allen, and others.

In 1880 a riot occurred in Coffeeville between the Democrats and Greenbackers. A political meeting was going on at that time, the speakers being Vann H. Manning and Harmon, of Batesville. The Democrats, who were desirous of getting Pearson out of the way, instigated Tom Spearman, a negro, to start a quarrel. He went up to Pearson, the Greenback candidate for sheriff, and called him a bad name. Pearson promptly knocked him down, and the negro drew his pistol and shot at Pearson. Pearson returned the fire and in a few minutes the Democrats, who had been watching the whole affray, came running up headed by Kelley and Dick Riddick. The Greenbackers joined in the fray and a general shooting took place. Many of the Democrats were stationed upstairs in the windows facing the street. They began firing down into the street. Many of them had been drinking and this increased the trouble. About a hundred shots were fired. Pearson was shot through the shoulder and leg. Dick Riddick was badly injured. Pearson was carried into one of the stores, and the Greenbackers barricaded themselves in the jail. The negroes stampeded and ran over fences and through residences, "not even stopping for trees." The Democrats spread the report that Pearson was dying, and that it was useless to vote for him. Nevertheless he was elected.[145] Wimberly, who ran on the same ticket with him, was also elected, but the election was contested. A new one was then ordered, at which Wilson, the Democratic candidate, was counted in. The leaders in the riot were arrested, but their case did not come to trial at the next term of court. Finally, they were indicted for public shooting on the highway and fined a dollar each and costs by Judge Watson, of Holly Springs.[146]

About this time John Holly, the circuit clerk of the county, who belonged to the Greenback party, was put out of office, his election having been contested by Wiley Brannon, a Democrat, A few days later, Holly took possession of the office and

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[145]This statement has been made to me by several persons, but it does not correspond with the official records.

[146]This statement was made by R. V. Pearson, Grenada, Mississippi.

refused to give it up to Brannon. As no attempt was made to reinstate Brannon, Holly retained possession.[147]

Economic Conditions.

At the close of the war, the South was left in a very chaotic condition. Prices were high and many products could not be bought for money. One gentleman stated that he paid $100 for a bushel of salt, and considered himself lucky to get it.[148] Cotton readily brought 44 cents a pound. Mr. Crawford Statham, of Grenada, had some cotton, which he had kept in the open during the entire war and which had been trampled upon by the soldiers. He had it picked over, cleaned and packed into six bales, which he took to Memphis and sold for 50 cents a pound. A little later the price went down to 30 and then to 25 cents.[149] The price of other articles was in proportion.

The status of the negro had by the fortunes of war been changed. From being the mainstay and support of the South and the faithful protector of the home and family, he had become a positive menace to the white people. The Freedmen's Bureau sowed the seeds of alienation and distrust among the colored race, and upset all planting interests. Its officers told the negroes that by reason of their long service as slaves they were entitled to what the fortunes of war had left to their master; at least, to forty acres and a mule. But in order to obtain it, they must vote the Republican ticket. Some of the negroes went so far as to select the land they liked best on their old master's plantation.[150] One method employed by the Yankees to deceive the credulous negro was to sell him painted sticks with instructions to place them so as to mark the lands he wanted. The ignorant victim was positively assured that the government would guarantee his title to any forty acres of land thus designated.[151]

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[147]See Frank Smith's "Reconstruction in Yalobusha County," in the Water Valley *Itemizer,* September, 1908.
[148]Mr. R. M. Boydston.
[149]Statement of Mrs. P. S. Dudley.
[150]Statement of Mrs. P. S. Dudley.
[151]Statement of Mr. J. L. Clowney, of Water Valley, Mississippi.

Different methods were employed for securing labor. At first the negroes were hired for wages, under written contracts. But this was found to be unsatisfactory, as the negroes would ignore their contracts.

The share system was then introduced. This varied in different parts of the county. When the landlord furnished everything, except the labor, which was the negro's part, the crop was generally divided half and half. When the landlord furnished only the land he received a fourth of the cotton and a third of all other crops.

Then the merchant devised the credit system, by which they advanced supplies to tenants, the debts being usually secured by a deed of trust on the negroes' live stock and and crop. Under this system the prices charged by the merchants were sometimes exorbitant. It is said that in some instances the negro would pay as much as $20 for a barrel of flour.[152]

Various methods were used for controlling negro labor. On large plantation the laborers were usually divided into squads with a leader for each squad, and a white man to overlook and superintend the whole.[153] In some isolated parts of Yalobusha and Grenada Counties labor was easily obtained at a low price. In the Silvarena neighborhood good labor could be secured at from eight to ten dollars a month.[154] But in the more thickly settled parts of the county, and nearer the railroad, the greatest difficulty was experienced in obtaining labor.

An experiment in foreign labor was tried in Water Valley in 1868. The Water Valley Manufacturing Company, composed of some of the leading men of the town, bought half a section of land north of town, divided it into lots and sold them. Their purpose was to organize a factory, but in order to do so they had to mortgage the lots. As a result, the whole thing eventually passed out of their hands into the control of the three Wagner brothers. In 1868 Gus Burgland, a Swede, manager of the manufacturing company, brought over a colony of about a hun-

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[152]Statements of Mrs. P. S. Dudley and by Mr. W. M. Copeland.
[153]Statement of Mrs. P. S. Dudley.
[154]Statement of Mr. R. M. Boydston.

dred persons from the northern part of Sweden. They reached Water Valley in May. As it was an extremely hot summer and the Swedes were unable to stand the heat, the new factory had to be turned into a hospital. The people of Water Valley took care of the sick persons, a great many of whom died. Those who remained were excellent architects and carpenters. They could be relied on and trusted, and they built many fine houses in the town. They also built a Lutheran church in Water Valley. They could not speak English, and thought our customs very strange. Some of them once watched with great interest a baptismal ordinance conducted by the Primitive Baptists. These foreigners thought that the parties who were baptized had been fighting on the street, as they were ducked in the water.[155]

In the fall of 1866 the railroad shops were brought to Water Valley. A foundry was also organized under the control of the Water Valley Manufacturing Company. White laborers only were employed, and they were generally Southern men.[156]

Taxes increased in the reconstruction period, until they were almost confiscatory. Major Chalmers said: "In fifty years people will not believe what we have to submit to."[157] We are told that the taxes on land were quadrupled.[158]

The minutes of the boards of supervisors in the years 1872 and 1873 are full of records of delinquent taxes. In 1860 the aggregate value of real and personal estates was $14,421,812. In 1870 the total assessed valuation was $2,502,524, and the true valuation of real and personal estates was $4,133,707. The total assessed value in 1880 was $1,573,397.[159]

The public debt of Yalobusha County in 1870 amounted to $5,000 and in 1880 to $11,873.[160]

The total value of live stock in the county in 1860 was $821,-319, and in 1870 it was $333,443. In 1860 there were 553,656

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[155]This information was obtained from Col. M. D. L. Stephens.
[156]Ibid.
[157]Statement of Mr. W. H. Winter.
[158]Statement of Mrs. P. S. Dudley.
[159]See Appendix C, Table X.
[160]See Appendix C, Table X.

bushels of corn raised, and in 1870 241,138 bushels. As corn was always cheap, it was not a good money crop.[161]

The number of bales of cotton raised in Yalobusha County in 1860 amounted to 24,760. In 1870 there were 5,167 bales and in 1880 there were 48,321.[162]

From these facts it will be seen that the agricultural yield of Yalobusha County diminished very rapidly from 1860 to 1870. This was due to the unsettled political and industrial conditions.

Educational Conditions.

The war had only a temporary effect upon education in Yalobusha and Grenada Counties. Before the introduction of public school in 1870 there were a number of good "pay schools" in Yalobusha County. They were generally taught by well educated persons, and the character of the instruction was good. These schools were well attended, the average number of pupils being from thirty to forty.

Capt. S. B. Brown[163] was one of the best known instructors in Yalobusha County. Before the war he taught in Marshall and Panola Counties. After returning from the war he opened a pay school at Coffeeville. This school had an enrollment of from thirty to forty pupils.[164]

A Mr. Morrison at one time taught a private school in Coffeeville. His pupils numbered from twenty-five to thirty. At another time Mr. S. M. Ross opened a school in Coffeeville, the attendance being about the same as that of Mr. Morrison's school.[165]

In Water Valley, Mr. George Davidson, brother of the minister. Mr. Ed. Davidson, taught a good pay school. He built the house in which Mrs. Carr now lives, for a schoolhouse. His school was

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[161]Statement of Mr. R. M. Boydston.

[162]See Table V, in Appendix C.

[163]Captain Brown was at one time editor of the *Mississippi-Central.* He was also a member of the State legislature for several years.

[164]This information was given by Messrs. Wiley Brannon and Francis Herron. See also Goodspeed's *Memoirs of Mississippi,* I, 444.

[165]Statements of Mr. Francis Herron.

well attended.. Mr. J. O. Kendricks also taught a pay school in Water Valley. His school was located on the same site as that on which the public school now stands.[166]

A Mr. Reeves once taught a school in the country near Water Valley.[167]

Gatewood, five miles northwest of Coffeeville, was an educational centre in the reconstruction period. The neighborhood was thickly settled by a high class of substantial farmers. Among its teachers were Mr. Garner's sister (1868), and Dr. Alphonso Brown, who opened a school there while he was pursuing the study of medicine.[168]

The Yalobusha Female Institute (Baptist) was established at Grenada in 1851. When the war broke out it was suspended and the building was used for a hospital. After the surrender the property passed out of the hands of the Baptists, being purchased by George W. Ragsdale, who leased it in 1867 to Mrs. Holcombe. She opened a good school under the name of the "Emma Mercer Institute." She failed after several years and was succeeded by Prof. R. A. Irwin. In 1875 the property was purchased by a joint stock company organized for that purpose among the citizens. The name was changed to "The Grenada Female College." The Rev. D. D. Moore, of Tennessee, was the first president. He was not very successful and was succeeded in 1878 by the Rev. J. H. Armstrong. But before the new president entered upon his work he died of the yellow fever, which was raging in Grenada at that time. After many changes the school was purchased by the Methodist church, and has since been known as the "Grenada Collegiate Institute."[169] As this school and a male school situated in Grenada furnished ample educational advantages there was no need of other private schools.

In 1870 a system of public schools was established in Yalobusha County. In that year 602 pupils attended these schools, but only five of them were negroes.[170]

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[166]Statements of Capt. J. M. Alken.
[167]Statement of Mr. R. M. Boydston.
[168]This information was obtained from Dr. T. F. Brown.
[169]See Mayes' *History of Education in Mississippi*, 97.
[170]See Appendix C, Table XI.

In Water Valley boys from five to twenty-one years of age were allowed to attend and girls from five to eighteen. Often the pupils were too poor to buy books, but they were generously supplied by the merchants of the towns.[171]

The public school system in Coffeeville was very poor. Education made little progress until the introduction of prohibition in that town, even though additional taxes for educational purposes were levied upon the saloons.[172]

Capt. S. B. Brown was first county superintendent of education in Yalobusha County, which position he held for eight years. He was also made principal of the Water Valley schools in 1871. J. O. Kendricks was elected treasurer of the county school funds in 1871. Schools were established for the negroes as well as the whites, and were well attended. Often negro men and women thirty years old would attend as pupils.[173] They were taught by negro teachers throughout Yalobusha County, but that part of Grenada County which had been formed from Yalobusha often had white teachers for the negro schools. Two Northern women, Miss Annie Harwood and Miss Carrie Segur, taught the negroes in Grenada. They came there as missionaries, being paid by Northern capitalists. They also received pay from the negroes for their services. They were educated persons and made good missionaries. When they first came they had to board with the negroes, but finally Capt. John Powell built them a little house in which to live. They rented a building for a schoolhouse. The negroes were devoted to them and they encountered little opposition from the whites.[174] When they first came to Grenada they attended the white churches, but they stopped going because the people would not sit by them. They also taught a negro Sunday school.[175]

Only one schoolhouse in the county was destroyed in the reconstruction period. It was situated in Water Valley and was

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[171]Statement of Col. M. D. L. Stephens.
[172]Statement of Mr. Francis Herron.
[173]Statement of Col. M. D. L. Stephens.
[174]This information was received from Mrs. P. S. Dudley.
[175]Information received from Mr. W. H. Winter.

burned by the Ku Klux Klan in order to break up a meeting of negroes and bad whites, which was being held in the building.

Religious Conditions.

At the outbreak of the war there were 36 churches in Yalobusha County. They were divided among three denominations, as follows: 15 Baptist, 13 Methodist, and 8 Presbyterian churches. In 1870 there were 42 churches in the county, 18 Baptist, 15 Methodist, 8 Presbyterians, and 1 Roman Catholic.

In Water Valley there were a Baptist, a Methodist, a Presbyterian, and a Roman Catholic church. Mr. Ed. Davidson was the Presbyterian minister. The church building was used for a schoolhouse during the week. Mr. W. W. Pearson was the Methodist minister and Mr. Dupuy the Baptist minister. A Lutheran church was built by the Swedes a short time after 1870. All of the churches were in a stagnant condition.[176]

In Coffeeville there were three white churches:—a Methodist, a Baptist, and a Cumberland Presbyterian. R. S. Thomas was pastor of the Cumberland Presbyterian church in Coffeeville for forty-eight years. He was one of the members of the committee to build the Female College in Oxford.[177]

In Grenada there were three churches as follows: A Methodist, a Baptist and a Presbyterian.[178]

The negro's religion was of a very low type. The preachers were illiterate, and the greater part of their activity consisted in putting mischief into the head of their members. They had one church in Coffeeville,[179] and two Baptist, and a Methodist church in Grenada. A Southern white man, Mr. Martin, was pastor of the negro Methodist church in Water Valley. He built so many houses for rent that people said he stole the negro's money.[180]

A very peculiar religion was developed in Grenada by a negro

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[176]These facts were related by Col. M. D. L. Stephens.
[177]This information was received from Mr. Francis Herron.
[178]Statement of Mrs. P. S. Dudley.
[179]Statement of Mr. W. M. Copeland.
[180]Statement of Mrs. J. K. Fulson, Water Valley, Mississippi.

woman named Cindy Mitchell. She attracted a large number of followers, who came to be known as "Cindy's Band." She possessed unlimited power over them. At first her influence was bad, as she was full of bitterness toward the whites, but later her opposition decreased and she forced her followers to live peaceably with their white neighbors and to pay their debts. She is still living in Grenada, though her following is not as large as formerly. She is a thorough fanatic and gets all she can from the negroes. She dresses in a very fantastic style with different colored ribbons flying in every direction. Her clothes are made with vandyke points, and she has buttons sewed all over them. Each different feature of her dress possess some special significance for her. Mrs. M. L. Powell, now of Eupora, but formerly a milliner in Grenada, had the rare experience of trimming a hat for Cinda. It was a turban, and was ornamented with small flags of different colors, each of which, according to the customer, had a special significance. At one time Cindy was put into prison on a charge of insanity. She has a throne in her church, which she occupies, holding a banjo in her hand. She made a Bible for herself. Her version of the creation is that God put a belt around his body, swung himself down from heaven, took a little clay in his hand, mixed it up with some water, and made the world. Part of her ceremony consists in having dances on Sunday morning. Once she announced to her people that on a certain day she would walk on the water across the river. Thousands of negroes, and about as many white people, gathered on the appointed day to watch the performance. Many of the darkies were standing on a new bridge that had just been built across the river. It suddenly broke down and several of them were drowned. Cindy kept the negroes watching a long time, but she never ventured upon the water, her excuse being that the Lord had failed to send her the shoes she was to wear on that occasion.[181]

There was little friction between the white and negro churches. A negro preacher was hanged in Coffeeville at one time by

[181]Information concerning Cindy was received from Mrs. P. S. Dudley, Mr. W. E. Smith, and others.

unknown hands for stirring up his congregation against the whites.[182] This is, however, about the only instance of violence perpetrated by the whites upon negro religious leaders.[183]

Municipal History.

Grenada.

Town government in Grenada was carried on in a very unsatisfactory manner, especially after 1870. In that year Grenada County was formed by the Republicans, who had a majority of 1,700.[184] The town of Grenada was full of carpetbaggers and scalawags. These men secured control of the municipal government and ran matters to suit themselves.

The public records date back only as far as 1872, those previous to that time having been destroyed.

In 1871 William Price, the carpetbagger, was mayor of the town and J. B. Townsend, a scalawag, was treasurer. There was a great deal of complaint in the town against the board of aldermen, because they refused to publish an account of their proceedings and levied excessive taxes. They did not let the town know what went on at their meetings and gave no account of the tax money they had collected. Townsend, the treasurer, refused to pay the street tax which the board imposed, saying that he belonged to the board and was therefore exempt.

In June, 1871, it was found necessary to appoint a new marshal. William Price, who did not pay any taxes, voted for a man who demanded $600 salary instead of another man, fully as competent, whose services could be secured for the sum of $300. These things, in addition to the fact that there was much wrangling and shooting carried on at night, were the cause of many complaints by the people. In defense of themselves against the accusations that they had levied excessive taxes the board claimed that they were without resources, because by an act of

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[182]This statement was made by Mr. W. M. Copeland.
[183]For further church statistics see Apendix C, Table XI.
[184]Statement of Mr. Francis Herron.

the legislature they had been prohibited from receiving any income from the sale of spirituous, vinous, or malt liquors.

In 1872 J. B. Townsend was elected mayor. He had a great many negro followers to whom he owed his election.[185] The amount of indebtedness of the corporation in 1872 was about $1,000. The records for that year show that many changes were made in the police force. It was reduced from four to one, and then discontinued. Soon thereafter two new policemen were appointed, but they were also discharged for lack of work.

An election was held July 29, 1872, to ascertain whether it was the will of the people to issue $25,000 in city bonds, payable in ten years, and bearing eight per cent., for the purpose of building a bridge across the Yalobusha river and for other public improvements.

In 1873 a school tax of three-eights of one per cent. was levied on all the taxable property of the city and Mr. R. H. Jones was appointed teacher of the public school.

In 1874 J. C. Gray was elected mayor. He received $50 a month salary, as did also the marshal and policeman. The recorder was paid $2 a meeting.

A riot was averted with difficulty in Grenada in that year. The trouble arose over the insolence of a negro who pushed J. W. Little, the policeman, off the sidewalk.[186]

The delinquent taxes in the year 1874 were found to amount to $1,526.68, and the indebtedness for outstanding warrants was $1,927.37.[187]

Coffeeville.

No official records of the town of Coffeeville in the reconstruction period can be obtained. Many of them were destroyed by fire, and the rest, if there were any, were carried away by a mayor who left the county, but failed to leave a record of the

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[185]Statement by Mrs. P. S. Dudley.
[186]Statement of Mr. W. E. Smith.
[187]For a list of the members of the board of aldermen for the town of Grenada from 1872-1876, see Appendix B.

cases tried or the money collected.[188] There were about four hundred negroes in Coffeeville. As they outnumbered the white population, a few bad white men, such as A. T. Wimberly, combined with them to obtained control of the town. The board of aldermen always had at least two negroes on it. They were usually John Scurlock and Sidney Hoskins, both of whom had pretty good practical sense.[189] At one time the board consisted of five negroes and one white man, A. T. Wimberly.[190] They gave no account of the money paid to them. The town was rescued from negro rule by an act of the legislature, which cut down the limits of the municipality so as to exclude the greater part of its negro population.[191]

The large number of saloons in the town kept it in a bad moral condition until after 1880. In that year the place had seven saloons, which outnumbered the business houses. The town public school was inferior, even though additional taxes were collected from the saloons for educational purposes.[192]

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[188]This statement was made by Mr. Francis Herron.
[189]Ibid.
[190]Statement of Mr. Wiley Brannon.
[191]Statement of Messrs. Francis Herron and Wiley Brannon.
[192]These statements were made by Mr. Francis Herron.

APPENDIX A.

Boards of Police and Supervisors of Yalobusha County, 1865-1880.

1865.

Peter Johnson (Pres.), Johnson Buntin, John C. Stokes, T. W. Roberts, James D. Crawford, members. T. Ward, clerk, and L. R. Wilson, sheriff.

1867.

Peter Johnson (Pres.), J. G. Kelley, Benjamin Williams, Johnson Buntin, W. B. Owen, members. T. Ward, clerk; L. R. Wilson, sheriff.

1869.

A. B. Hawkins (Pres.), W. M. Moring, John W. Parker, J. G. Beaty, John McFarland. J. B. Townsend, clerk; L. French, sheriff.

1870.

W. L. Brown (Pres.), Geo. W. Wright, O. Martin, David Davenport. J. C. Branum, clerk; C. Montgomery, sheriff.

1872.

Peter Johnson (Pres.), H. Ray, Henery Vann (negro), A. S. Pipkin, W. W. Frost. John C. Branum, clerk; R. V. Pearson, sheriff. Thos. Powell took the place of Henery Vann in January, 1873.

1874.

L. M. Lawshe (Pres.), W. W. Frost, D. M. Murphree, Samuel G. Carr, Randolph Eggleston. John C. Branum, clerk; R. V. Pearson, sheriff.

1876.

Peter Johnson (Pres.), W. W. Frost, Randolph Eggleston, J. J. Melton, R. W. Jones. J. M. Strain, clerk; L. R. Wilson, sheriff.

1878.

R. W. Jones, (Pres.), E. Badley, W. W. Frost, Allen Money, J. J. Melton. J. M. Strain, clerk; L. R. Wilson, sheriff.

1880.

T. W. Roberts (Pres.), E. Badley, J. H. Dame, Pat Breet, D. H. Murphree. A. T. Wimberly, clerk; L. R. Wilson, sheriff.

APPENDIX B.

Mayor and Boards of Aldermen of Grenada, 1871-1876.

1871.

William Price, mayor; F. M. McLean, G. W. Ragsdale, I. N. Parker, aldermen. J. B. Townsend, treasurer.

1872.

J. B. Townsend, mayor; G. H. Campbell, W. B. May, M. K. Mister, Jr., H. B. Sherman, R. Mullin, J. L. Milton.

1874.

J. C. Gray, mayor; R. Lake, Bridges, Fairfield, Stevenson, Mayhew, Harold, aldermen.

Mayor and Boards of Aldermen of Water Valley, 1865-1876.

1865.

B. H. Collins, mayor; W. Simmons, W. H. Brister, W. B. Wagner, J. M. Shaw, T. J. West, aldermen. J. G. Goode, constable; W. B. Wagner, clerk; J. M. Shaw, treasurer.

1866.

N. C. David, mayor; James Hubbard, A. V. Simmons, W. H. Buford, J. G. Goode, aldermen. J. D. Robertson, clerk.

1867.

N. C. David, mayor; J. G. Goode, W. H. Burford, aldermen. A. V. Simmons, treasurer; J. D. Robertson, clerk.

May 21, 1867, special meeting held.

John H. Wilson, mayor; B. H. Collins, Jesse Addington, T. J. West, M. A. Ross, aldermen. J. V. Hendricks, clerk.

1869.

John H. Wilson, mayor; R. Anderson, W. H. Burford, H. Gibbons, William Simmons, Jesse Addington, aldermen. J. V. Hendricks, clerk.

1870.

J. F. Davidson, mayor; W. H. Burford, S. R. Kirkwood, Wm. E. Douglas, E. D. Frost, J. R. Israel, aldermen. J. V. Hendricks, clerk.

1871.

J. F. Davidson, mayor; S. R. Kirkwood, W. H. Burford, John H. Wilson, W. P. Ragan, G. Bergland, W. O. Herring, O. Martin, aldermen. J. V. Hendricks, clerk.

1872.

J. C. Robinson, mayor; W. A. Herring, T. W. Whitsey, David Steinan, W. P. Ragan, W. G. Mauldin, Jim Morrison, G. Bergland, aldermen. J. V. Hendricks, clerk.

1874.

Robert Prophet, mayor; H. C. Goode, John M. Shaw, D. Steinan, W. A. Herring, M. D. L. Stephens, W. G. Hughes, G. Bergland, aldermen. J. V. Hendricks, clerk.

1876.

Robert Prophet, mayor; W. J. Hughes, J. E. Becton, Peter Cullen, J. M. Shaw, Patrick Mulligan, M. Callahan, R. V. Pearson, aldermen. J. V. Hendricks, clerk.

APPENDIX C—CENSUS STATISTICS OF YALOBUSHA COUNTY, 1860–1880.

TABLE I. OWNERS OF SLAVES AND NUMBER OWNED IN 1860.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 and under 15	15 and under 20	20 and under 30	30 and under 40	40 and under 50	50 and under 70	70 and under 100	100 and under 200	200 and under 300	300 and under 500	500 and under 1,000	1,000 and over	Total Slave-holders	Total No. of Slaves
110	50	63	55	43	36	36	25	13	82	53	65	88	19	22	7	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	721	9,531

TABLE II. POPULATION OF YALOBUSHA COUNTY, 1860-1880.

	WHITE			COLORED			Total Population	MALES, 20 YEARS AND OVER			Total Male Citizens, 21 Years and Upward
	Native	Foreign	Total	Free	Slave	Total		White	Negro	Total	
1860.....	7,070	345	7,415	6	9,531	9,537	16,952	2,017	2,068	4,085	.....
1870.....	5,835	367	6,202	.....	.....	7,052	13,254	.....	.....	.....	2,822
1880.....	7,315	218	7,533	.....	.....	8,116	15,649	.....	.....	.....	.....

TABLE III. POPULATION OF MINOR CIVIL DISTRICTS, 1880.

BEATS		TOWNS	
Beat 1, including Coffeeville town	3,062	Coffeeville	749
Beat 2, including Water Valley	5,555	Water Valley	2,220
Beat 3, including Oakland	2,506	Oakland	288
Beat 4, including Garner's Station	2,565	Garner's Station	166
Beat 5, including Air Mount	1,961	Air Mount	49

TABLE IV. NATIVITY OF POPULATION, 1870–1880.

Native.

	Total	Born in State	Alabama	South Carolina	Va. & W. Va.	Tenn.	Georgia
1870	12,887	8,523	896	401	714	798	439
1880	15,421	11,870	785	329	500	699	289

Foreign.

	Total	British America	England and Wales	Ireland	Scotland	Germany	France	Sweden and Norway	Switzerland	Italy	Africa
1870	367	11	33	85	19	25	8	170	5	....	3
1880	218	5	39	52	11	26	8	64	2	5	....

TABLE V. AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS, 1860–1880.

	Improved Land	Unimproved Land	Value of Farms	Value of Farm Implements	Value of Live Stock	Bushels of Indian Corn	Ginned Cotton Bales of 400 lbs.	Bushels of Irish Potatoes	Bushels of Sweet Potatoes	Lbs. of Butter	Bushels of Peas and Beans	Lbs. of Wool
1860.....	113,646	235,682	$3,235,661	$131,408	$821,319	553,656	24,760	1,040	76,536	74,420	57,284	1,740
1870..	52,430	107,221	990,780	70,293	333,443	241,138	5,167	3,772	11,880	5,961	1,385	625
1880.....	74,612	.....	1,291,945	75,228	776,990	275,309	48,321	9,680	94,859	81,280	.....	5,112

TABLE VI. FARMS CONTAINING THREE ACRES OR MORE, 1860–1880.

	Number of Farms According to Acreage									Average Size
	Total No. of Farms	3 Acres	3 and under 10	10 and under 20	20 and under 50	50 and under 100	100 and under 500	500 and under 1,000	1,000 and over	
1860	.....	... .	5	31	157	178	288	45	8	.....
1870	479	.....	100	216	153	8	2	.....	.....	.....
1880	1,655	1	25	213	570	269	501	52	24	145

TABLE VII. FARMS CLASSED ACCORDING TO TENURE, 1880.

Total	Under 3 Acres	3 to 10	10 to 20	20 to 50	50 to 100	100 to 500	500 to 1,000	1,000 and over
	CULTIVATED BY OWNER:							
815	1	6	15	81	183	454	51	24
	RENTED FOR FIXED MONEY RENTAL:							
295	..	6	64	169	34	21	1	..
	RENTED FOR SHARES OF PRODUCTS:							
545	..	13	134	320	52	26	..	..

TABLE VIII. GENERAL MANUFACTURING STATISTICS, 1860–1880.

	Establishments	Capital Invested	Cost of Raw Material	Hands	Cost of Labor	Value of Products
1860	15	$ 40,400	$15,212	55	$ 21,120	$ 48,625
1870	51	226,089	.....	384	211,848	475,582
1880	15	22,250	22,400	44	10,602	51,443

TABLE IX. SELECTED MANUFACTURING STATISTICS.

1860

	No. of Establishments	Capital Invested	Cost of Raw Material	No. of Hands	Wages	Value of Products
Agricultural Implements.	2	$ 6,000	$3,458	10	$2,160	$ 9,000
Blacksmithing	5	12,200	1,880	10	4,560	10,300
Carriages	2	9,000	2,750	16	6,480	8,240
Furniture, Cabinet	1	4,000	850	8	3,000	5,000
Leather	2	4,200	2,886	3	1,080	5,200
Saddlery and Harness	1	2,000	1,400	4	1,440	3,500
Tin, Copper and Sheet-iron Ware	2	3,000	1,988	4	2,400	7,385

1870

	No. of Establishments	Hands Employed	Capital	Wages	Materials	Products
Agricultural Implements	1	7	$ 6,000	$ 3,600	11,000	23,000
Cars, Freight and Passenger	1	50	35,000	29,000	34,901	63,901
Flouring Mill Products	5	12	6,600	850	11,002	14,317
Iron Castings	2	11	17,500	7,500	28,201	47,572
Lumber, Sawed	4	20	6,325	4,596	5,700	18,400
Machine, Railroad Repairing	2	110	90,000	98,000	42,000	14,230
Sash, Doors & Blinds.	1	60	20,000	21,000	20,800	52,000

NOTE.—All industries within a gross production of less than $10,000, except neighborhood industries producing as much as $2,500 or more annually, were omitted in 1870.

All counties having a gross production less than $100,000 annually and all industries producing less than $20,000 were omitted in 1880.

TABLE X. ASSESSED VALUATION OF PROPERTY, TAXES AND INDEBTEDNESS, 1860–1880.

	ASSESSED VALUATION			TAXATION				DEBTS
	Valuation of Real Estate	Valuation of Personal Estate	Total	State	County	Town	Total	Net Debt
1860	$4,147,657	$10,274,155	$14,421,812	$	$	$	$	$
1870	1,388,892	1,113,632	2,502,524	16,260	18,768		35,028	5,000
1880	1,087,936	485,461	1,573,397	8,064	15,661	9,478	33,203	11,873

TABLE XI. SCHOOL STATISTICS AND ILLITERACY, 1870.

ATTENDED SCHOOL							CANNOT READ	CANNOT WRITE															
			WHITE		NEGRO						WHITE						COLORED						
											10–15		15–21		21–over		10–15		15–21		21–over	
Total	Native	Foreign	Male	Female	Male	Female	Ten Years and Over	Total	Native	Foreign	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.
602	601	1	308	289	....	5	5,688	5,814	5,689	125	196	181	129	110	262	300	465	498	402	457	1,353	1,461

TABLE XII. CHURCH STATISTICS, 1860–1870.

	NO. OF CHURCHES				VALUE OF CHURCH PROPERTY				ACCOMODATIONS			
	Baptist	Methodist	Presbyterian	Roman Catholic	Baptist	Methodist	Presbyterian	Roman Catholic	Baptist	Methodist	Presbyterian	Roman Catholic
1860	15	13	8	.....	22,900	22,500	18,600	.....	4,905	4,180	2,650	.....
1870	18	15	8	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	5,100	4,600	2,650	250

APPENDIX D—CENSUS STATISTICS OF GRENADA COUNTY, 1870-1880.

TABLE I. POPULATION, 1870-1880.

	WHITE			COLORED	Total Population	MALES Twenty years and over		Total Male Citizens 21 years and over
	Native born	Foreign born	Total	Total		White	Colored	
1870	3,691	238	3,929	6,642	10,571	.....	.....	.....
1880	3,171	65	3,236	8,831 Chinese 1 Indians 3	12,071	.....	.....	.....

TABLE II. NATIVITY OF POPULATION, 1870-1880.

	NATIVE											FOREIGN BORN								
	Total	Born in the State	Alabama	Tennessee	South Carolina	Georgia	Virginia and West Virginia	North Carolina	Louisiana	Kentucky	Arkansas	Total	British America	England and Wales	Ireland	Scotland	German Empire	France	Sweden and Norway	Switzerland
1870	10,333	7,476	365	438	394	25	439	.....	.....	.....	.....	238	20	29	53	14	49	5	42	.....
1880	12,006	9,625	481	266	272	273	387 Virginia	356	45	99	18	65	1	14	9	7	21	3	3	1

TABLE III. FARMS CONTAINING THREE ACRES AND MORE, 1870-1880.

	Total	3 and under 10	10 and under 20	20 and under 50	50 and under 100	100 and under 500	500 and under 1,000	1,000 and over	Average size
1870.....	444	1	14	127	126	157	14	5	.....
1880.....	979	8	88	340	127	271	60	85	201

TABLE IV. FARMS CLASSED ACCORDING TO TENURE, 1880.

	CULTIVATED BY OWNER								RENTED FOR FIXED MONEY RENTAL								RENTED FOR SHARES OF PRODUCTS							
	Total	3 and under 10 acres	10 and under 20 acres	20 and under 50 acres	50 and under 100 acres	100 and under 500 acres	500 and under 1,000 acres	1,000 and over	Total	3 and under 10	10 and under 20	20 and under 50	50 and under 100	100 and under 500	500 and under 1,000	1,000 and over	Total	3 and under 10	10 and under 20	20 and under 50	50 and under 100	100 and under 500	500 and under 1,000	1,000 and over
1880....	407	4	2	17	43	249	57	35	44	....	6	28	6	4	....	....	478	4	80	295	78	18	3	....

TABLE V. FARM AREAS AND FARM VALUES, 1880.

	Farms	Improved Land	Value of farms including fences and buildings	Value of farming implements and machinery	Value of Live Stock	Cost of building & repairing fences, 1879	Cost of fertilizers purchased, 1879	Estimated value of all farm products sold, consumed or on hand
1880	929	$50,670	$848,521	$44,442	$222,318	$14,845	$1,327	$756,155

TABLE VI. AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS, 1870-1880.

	Improved Land	Value of Farms	Value of all Live Stock	Horses	Mules and Asses	Milch Cows	Working Oxen	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Wheat		Oats	Indian Corn	Tobacco	Cotton	Wool	Potatoes		Butter
											Spring	Winter						Irish	Sweet	
	Acres	Dolls.	Dolls.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	Bus.	Bus.	Bus.	Bus.	Lbs.	Bales	Lbs.	Bus.	Bus.	Lbs.
1870	56,828	1,006,960	385,493	832	1,108	1,976	716	....	2,059	9,419	1,530	993	.....	191,675	160	6,479	2,854	3,041	9,548	58,916
1880 ..	.....	.....	.....	732	1,569	2,615	415	4,397	788	10,264	.....	.....	6,223	163,580	2,113	10,228	2,486	2,590	27,142	38,016

TABLE VII. LIVE STOCK AND DAIRY PRODUCTS, 1880.

LIVE STOCK ON FARMS JUNE 1, 1880								DAIRY PRODUCTS	
No. Horses	No. Mules and Asses	No. Working Oxen	No. Milch Cows	No. Other Cattle	No. Sheep, exclusive of spring lambs	No. Swine	Lbs. Wool, Spring Clip of 1880	Gals. milk sold or sent to butter and cheese factories in 1879	Lbs. Butter made on farms in 1879
732	1,569	415	2,615	4,397	788	10,264	2,486	53	38,016

TABLE VIII. GENERAL MANUFACTURING STATISTICS, 1870-1880.

	Number of Establishments	Capital	AVERAGE NUMBER OF HANDS EMPLOYED			Total amount paid in wages during the year	Value of Materials	Value of Products
			Males above 16 years	Females above 15 years	Children and Youths			
1870.....	19	51,550	39	.....	.....	$10,050	$29,605	$52,700
1880.....	23	27,800	44	.....	1	7,107	22,528	38,718

TABLE IX. ASSESSED VALUATION, TAXES AND INDEBTEDNESS, 1880.

	ASSESSED VALUATION			TAXATION				INDEBTEDNESS				
	Real Estate	Personal Property	Total	State	County	City, Town and Village	Total	Bonded Debt	Floating Debt	Gross Debt	Sinking Fund	Net Debt
1879.....	$963,558	$420,027	$1,383,585	$6,643	$19,289	$2,900	$28,832	$40,000	.....	$40,000	....	$40,000

Table X. School, Military, and Voting Age, 1870-1880.

	All Ages			5 to 18		18 to 45 Both inclusive	21 and over	Male Citizens
	Total	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Male	
1870.....	10,571	5,345	5,226	1,734	1,697	2,106	2,418	2,323
1880.....	12,071	5,990	6,081	2,080	2,072	2,161	2,562	.....

Table XI. White and Negro Illiteracy, 1870.

Attended School							Cannot Read—10 and over	Cannot Write															
			White		Colored						White						Colored						
											10 to 15		15 to 21		21 and over		10 to 15		15 to 21		21 and over	
Total	Native	Foreign	Male	Female	Male	Female		Total	Native	Foreign	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
390	390	.....	146	179	35	30	4,132	4,338	4,331	7	90	54	42	39	61	95	324	321	368	406	1,209	1,329

CLIMAX AND COLLAPSE OF RECONSTRUCTION IN MISSISSIPPI.

1874-1876.

By J. S. McNeily.[1]

The passing of reconstruction in Mississippi, the beginning of the end, is clearly traceable from the high tide which it reached in the election of the Ames State ticket in 1873, over that headed by his colleague in the senate, James L. Alcorn. Bitter personal enmity and the rivalry for dominance in State politics between the two, the home and the carpetbag Republican, were responsible for that contest. Alcorn's native arrogance and contemptuous domineering, sometimes carried to direct insult, had bred in his alien ally a dull but implacable resentment. Though yoked up in a common cause the two were so mutually repugnant, that they could not live in peace or harmony with each other. Thus they came home from Washington, leaving their seats in the Senate, to convert the pending State election into a fight to the finish test of their political futures. In spite of bitterest disappointment with his recent record as governor, Senator Alcorn secured the support of the organized white vote, with which it was a choice of evils. It was calculated that he would, by splitting the negro vote with Ames, win in the election. The calculation more than failed. Alcorn, to whom the negro voters had so willingly turned in 1869, was repudiated by the blacks, even of his own plantation. He not only made no appreciable impression on the negro vote, but was rejected by thousands of stay-at-home white voters. His defeat was not only overwhelming, in the ensuing white despondency, but calamitous, it seemed in the corresponding increase of negro insol-

[1]A biographical sketch of the author of this contribution will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, VI, 128.—Editor.

ence. It raised reconstruction robbery and misrule to the high water mark. But the beginning of its subsidence was not long delayed. How the reaction followed the climax and went on to collapse, it is the purpose of this contribution to the annals of the historic society to relate.

After the defeat of the Alcorn ticket, the election was contested by Governor Powers on the ground that it shortened his lawful term. He claimed a majority of the supreme court favored his view. But Ames, backed by President Grant, was credited with saying that he would be installed by force of arms, if his inauguration was resisted. Under the spell of this familiar argument the court decided the contest in his favor, and that was an end of the threatened collision.

In his outgoing message Governor Powers reviewed the record of his administration with a satisfaction that was by no means unmerited. Taken as a whole, he had given the State as good government as could have been expected, in view of the quality of his party and the political environments that beset him. The State enjoyed freedom from the abuses and disorders that marked the preceding and succeeding administrations. But there was only partial basis for the claim of Governor Powers that "decided advancement had been made in all the departments of government." While the financial statement showed a decreased expenditure, it was not sufficient to stop the steady increase of the deficit. He again urged discontinuance of the warrant system, the equalization of assessments, but he was unable to point out how taxes could be reduced. It is simple justice to say that Governor Powers was a well-meaning, but a weak executive. He was the best of the reconstruction class, at least. Upon his retirement he was complimented by the abuse of the *Jackson Pilot*. That conscienceless and corrupt organ of thieves and rascals thus concluded its editorial on him:

"The time may come, though we hope not, when Mississippi will have another such blockhead as Governor Powers in the executive chair."

The complexion of the incoming legislature marked the rise of the black tide—the growing disposition of the negro to draw the color line. Out of one hundred and sixteen house members

fifty-five were colored, and nine out of thirty-seven senators;—in both houses sixty-four. There was only a sprinkling of carpetbaggers from the black counties—the rest were all black. In the legislature elected in 1869 there had been a total, colored, in both houses of thirty-six. In 1867 but seventeen negroes had been elected to the "black and tan" convention. The session of 1874 was organized by the election of a mulatto, I. D. Shadd, from Warren County, speaker. Another mulatto, Davis, was lieutenant-governor and presided over the senate. Another, B. K. Bruce, was elected to the United States Senate. Three of the seven State officers were colored. Cardoza, superintendent of education, a quadroon, was all knave. He had qualified for his promotion by a career of notorious peculation and rascality, as the star performer of the Warren County band of official thieves. Jas. Hill, secretary of state, and Aleck Davis, lieutenant governor, both mulatoes, were planets of lesser magnitude, in the same sphere. Besides these three emblems of "the bottom rail on top," there was the Commissioner of Immigration Griggs, a pure negro, and more fool than knave. There was no special dissatisfaction among the white people in the black and tan complexion of the State house occupants. To the common gaze there was no appreciable difference in the white and the black reconstruction mushrooms, while the far-seeing perceived in the gradual crowding out of the carpetbagger a process that was sure to hasten the end. To fill the unexpired term of Governor Ames, the carpetbag element was recognized in the person of H. R. Pease, ex-superintendent of education, and badly tainted. The heroes of the era were much endowed with suggestive and derisive nicknames. On the initials of Pease, who was a ranking orator, was built the cognomen of "Hell Roaring." An effort was made to create another senatorial vacancy through a resolution calling on Senator Alcorn to resign. This was introduced by a carpetbagger from Bolivar county. It accused Alcorn with infidelity to the interests of the people of the State and being out of sympathy with both State and national administration. It was recited also, that "charges prejudicial to his official integrity, made during the campaign, had not been satisfactorily disproved." The resolu-

tion was adopted in the house, by a vote of fifty-six to thirty-four. It failed in the senate, where it was looked on as a mere ebulition of malice. But it blazoned the political death of the man who five years before had led the corrupt and ignorant horde to power over the State, and at their hands.

The administration of Ames, which was commenorated by the fruition and the final test of reconstruction, and which hastened to signal and significant collapse, now opened. His inaugural address is quoted from for such clue as it may afford to the history that followed. For as he declared in the beginning of the address, and as the rapidly following events proved, "this is an interesting period in the history of the State, unusual and exceptional." Reference followed to "the strange and sudden revolution during the few recent years, that had nowhere been followed by more marked consequences than in this State." A generous tribute was paid to the "proud and spirited people who went forth with high hopes to meet disaster, death and defeat" —who "were forced to witness the elevation as political peers of their slaves." The whites were admonished to cease "the vain struggle against the fixed and inexorable changes, that the colored citizens would never be less citizens than they are to-day." A glowing tribute was paid to the negro race, and their full recognition as citizens was demanded. In conclusion, the new governor pledged a faithful and impartial administration of his office, with assurance that there should be "a rigid economy and a strict accountability in all expenditures of public money as due to the people. * * * I invite all good citizens to join me in my efforts at an impartial, liberal and economical government."

Despite the odium with which Governor Ames was regarded by the white people, many gave him credit, at this time, for sincerity in pledging them reform of prevailing political evils. It was the common wish to give him a fair trial and an honest support of his professions. In this spirit a delegation of the Democratic members of the legislature called to assure him that it was their purpose to deal with his administration "free from prejudice or partisanship"—to accept his invitation of their co-operation. Such was the spirit of the people at the beginning of an admin-

istration destined to be brief and eventful. It was thus echoed in the *Greeneville Times,* in an article upon the call and the assurance of the Democratic legislative members:

"Whether the object of this call—to encourage and promote an administration in the material interest of the whole State—is accomplished or not, the act is none the less right and commendable. In his inaugural such earnest co-operation was invited by the governor. And when the fates frown so darkly and, as the governor said, inexorably, upon a people, it is becoming to seek to propitiate the powers that be. The task imposed is both onerous and distasteful. But—

"What the fates impose
That men must needs abide;
It boots not to resist
Both wind and tide."

It may be Governor Ames made his pledge of just and impartial administration in good faith—the question is of no concern. Against the corrupt agencies of government which he had led to victory he was powerless for honest administration had he willed to make the issue. And, besides, his assurances to that effect were subject to paramount influences. His mission of race equality, with his ambition of leadership and the personal aims he sought out of it, were superior to all other considerations. He was a reformer only to the extent that these ends were not menaced.

The Democratic members of the legislature lost no occasion for showing their patriotic spirit, for displaying a resolved policy of putting aside all prejudice in the service of the present good of the State. Upon the death of Charles Sumner they joined heartily in paying tribute to his virtues and public services. In the speeches eulogizing him a Democrat, Hon. W. H. Tison, led off. The Hon. Thomas Spight, a member of Congress from 1898 to 1911, was another speaker on the occasion. Both were ex-Confederate soldiers. The resolutions in memoriam were adopted unanimously, upon motion of Mr. Tison. . It is commonly believed that Mr. Lamar broke the sectional ice when Sumner died. But the Democrats of the Mississippi legislature spoke a month before he electrified the nation by his eloquent and momentous address in Congress. While the spirit of good will was invoked by these patriotic Southern men, the recon-

struction rancor was unabated in Washington. To the disorders and bloodshed of actual war in Arkansas, the protests against usurpation and misrule in Louisiana, the president turned a deaf ear. The most pitiful and shameful outrages and orgies were being perpetrated in South Carolina. These had grown to be so intolerable at this period that a delegation of leading citizens was sent to Washington to supplicate the mercy of Congress and the president. In publishing their appeal the *New York Herald* said:

"In another column will be found a document that will call up a blush of shame to the face of every decent citizen of the United States. It is the appeal of the State of South Carolina to the congress for protection from the men who have seized on the government of the State, and who, aided by the ignorant freedmen, rob the property owners under cover of law. The prayer for protection is a temperate document and the statement of the condition under carpetbag rule as free from passion as such a document could be."

Other Republican journals joined in demanding relief from Congress. There was evidence that the country was being strongly moved against reconstruction wrongs. But such a sentiment found no echo at Washington. The South Carolina delegation calling on the president to present their grievances were coldly received. He said:

"The condition of affairs was much to be deplored, but since South Carolina was a sovereign State he could see no mode whereby the evils could be cured by the executive or congress. The matter was one that rested entirely with the people of the State."

It was the case of one asking for bread and being given a stone. Alarmed by the comments of the Northern press, fearful that "Congress and the executive would devise a mode to cure the evils," a delegation of South Carolina Republicans swooped down on Washington. They, too, had an interview with the president, charging that the committee asking his interference "represented no considerable body of citizens, neither taxpayers nor politicians; and that it was simply a fight between the outs and the ins." The president told them that "their answer appeared to be full and conclusive." The delegation expressed entire satisfaction in the interview.

While Mississippi was free from the open strife and disorders that prevailed in Louisiana and Arkansas, the heavy burthen of

a confiscatory property tax was fast approaching the unbearable stage. When the legislature had been in session some weeks it was again admonished by Governor Ames of the urgent need of retrenching expenses, which were far beyond revenues. He made a number of recommendations, embracing reduction of the cost of the legislative sitting, which amounted to $1800 a day. The expenses of the judiciary, he said, could be pared $50,000 "without impairing its efficiency by modifying the law relative to juries." Other means of saving were pointed out. The only specific response was a bill to reduce the salaries of the judges, which the governor vetoed in a message which complimented the legislature for its "earnest spirit of economy." The message urging retrenchment contained one recommendation that was acted upon. This was the creation of a board of equalization of assessments throughout the State. A funding bill, also, was passed; the third of its kind since the birth of negro-carpetbag rule. Periodically the State had become flooded with warrants, issued beyond the revenues. This recurring deficit was referred to in the messages of both the outgoing and the incoming governors; Governor Powers showing an aggregate shortage in the four preceding years of nearly a million dollars. The custom was to take the surplus and the depreciated warrants from the market, and make way for a new harvest for those who shaved and speculated in State scrip, by funding them in 8 per cent. interest bearing bonds; for which a special tax was provided. The same system of finance was operated by the counties and towns. But a larger revenue was needed to meet the growing cupidity of the rulers, and this was sought through a board of equalization of property, real and personal. The board, composed of the State officials, was given power to add to the aggregate of county values such per centum as would raise the assessments of properties to a true money value, whenever these were believed to be at an undervaluation on the assessor's rolls. When this was done by the State board, sitting at the capital, the rolls were returned to the county clerks for such per centum of raise to be added to each piece of property as would equalize and raise the whole to the State board's figures. To completely exclude the taxpayers from part in the assessment of his property, the

law requiring returns under oath was repealed; and the county assessors constituted the sole judge of the values, real and personal, of their respective counties. No provision was made for revision or appeal from the taxable values as thus fixed. Thus without raising the tax rate the revenues and the margin of robbery were increased. Such a device was needed to veil the fact of confiscatory taxes. Already a very large proportion of the realty—as much as 50 per cent. was estimated—had passed to the delinquent lists. This legislature fixed the State tax as follows:

General purposes	6¾ mills
Special old funded debt	1½ mills
Special new funded debt	¾ mill
School	4 mills

These various taxes added made a total of 13 mills on the dollar, or $13 dollars on the thousand. Nor were taxes payable in depreciated paper or upon half the actual values. County assessors were encouraged to excessive ratings by being paid their commissions upon the totals of the rolls as filed. In some counties the amount of the State *ad valorem* tax was doubled, trebled or quadrupled by adding the local taxes. In the sum of taxation, which was a heavy burthen before, the taxpayers now saw their finish unless a link in the chain of such an abomination of government should snap. How the equalization law was regarded by the property owners is to be read in the protest of the Democratic members spread upon the legislative journal. It recited that the title of the bill indicated the object of a fair and equitable valuation. But its provisions pointed to an increase of taxation "to an unlimited extent" by placing a fictitious value on property." This protest further declared:

"To place such a power in the hands of any seven men is dangerous, but when we consider that this power is conferred on men who are strictly and personally interested in having a larger amount of money drawn from the people by the tax gatherers and placed in their reach, we are forced to the conclusion that the people of the State are hereafter to hold their property by the sufferance of this board of equalization. That its powers are sufficient to confiscate the property of the people is apparent to any one, who will give the bill closer examination."

Three of the equalization board were landless negroes. The

provisions and the purport of this law call for the details given, as its influence in creating the spirit of resistance and revolution was signal. In the counties of the Delta the burthen bore heaviest, not only through the heavy levee taxes, but because there was a very disastrous overflow in the spring of 1874. But all over the State the mutterings of discontent and determination to no longer tolerate radical rule began to be heard.

The tax rate and the consequent land forfeitures record the main grievance, whose continuance pointed to certain and utter ruin of the landed interests. Testifying before a congressional committee on State financial affairs, Auditor Gibbs gave in a statement of tax rate by counties, which tells the story of robbery. The list, it will be seen, was so divided into "Republican and Democratic" as to create a false and prejudicial impression—that local Democratic government divided the responsibility of a more wretched condition at the close of four years of reconstruction than at the close of the four years of war with his party.

Democratic Counties	State Tax	County Tax	Total	Republican Counties	State Tax	County Tax	Total
Alcorn	14	9	23	Adams	14	17.7	31.7
Attala	14	11	25	Amite	14	11	25
Benton	14	18½	32½	Bolivar	14	16	30
Calhoun	14	12	26	Carroll	14	11	25
Chickasaw	14	20.3	34.3	Claiborne	14	10.5	24.5
Chocktaw	14	17	31	Coahoma	14	15	29
Clark	14	16	30	Copiah	14	11	25
Covington	14	11	25	Colfax	14	23.2	37.2
Franklin	14	14	28	De Soto	14	5.3	19.3
Greene	14	11	25	Grenada	14	18½	32½
Hancock	14	18½	32½	Hinds	14	11.4	25.4
Harrison	14	8.6	22.6	Holmes	14	11	25
Itawamba	14	11	25	Issaquena	14	16	30
Jackson	14	16½	30½	Jefferson	14	17½	31½
Jasper	14	7½	21½	Kemper	14	18	32
Jones	14	17½	31½	Lowndes	14	15	29
Lafayette	14	10	24	Le Flore	14	11	25
Lauderdale	14	11	25	Madison	14	11	25
Lawrence	14	10	24	Marshall	14	14	28
Leake	14	12½	26½	Monroe	14	11½	25½
Lee	14	15	29	Noxubee	14	14	28
Lincoln	14	10.7	24.7	Oktibbeha	14	13	27
Marion	14	11	25	Panola	14	10	24
Montgomery	14	10.8	24.8	Pike	14	11.8	25.8
Neshoba	14	18	32	Rankin	14	10	24
Newton	14	10	24	Sumner	14	11	25
Perry	14	10	24	Sunflower	14	11	25
Pontotoc	14	6.2	20.2	Tallahatchee	14	13½	27½
Prentiss	14	8½	22½	Tunica	14	10	24
Pearl	14	7½	21½	Tate	14	7	21
Scott	14	10	24	Warren	14	14	28
Simpson	14	11½	25½	Washington	14	13½	27½
Smith	14	9	23	Wilkinson	14	19	33
Tippah	14	17½	31½	Yazoo	14	10	24
Tishomingo	14	11	25				
Union	14	11	25	Average	.....	.....	$13\frac{7}{17}$
Wayne	14	15½	29½				
Winston	14	16	30				
Yallobusha	14	8	22				
Average	.....	.....	$12\frac{7}{18}$				

Commenting on this divisional table, Professor Garner's *Reconstruction in Mississippi,* page 312, says:

"According to the report of the auditor, 34 of the 73 counties in Mississippi had Republican administrations and 39 had Democratic administrations. The showing of the Democratic counties, according to the auditor's report, does not seem to have been much better than in Republican counties. If the report of the auditor is a truthful statement of the situation, the Democraic charge of Republican extravagance does not seem to have been well founded."

This is an exact statement of the impression the carpetbag auditor sought to create on the radical members of the committee, and through them on the Northern Republican voters. But he could never have dreamed that his flimsy fiction would be accepted in a history of reconstruction, whose author is a native of Mississippi.

"If the report of the auditor is a truthful statement of the situation," the whole story of reconstruction robbery is a lie. And the struggle for redemption of the State from the plunder and the degrading rule of alien, renegade and negro adventurers which the succeeding generations of Mississippians hold as a worthy companion piece to the heroic deeds of their ancestors during the war, is a swash-buckling fabrication. It will now be shown that the report quoted is *not* "a truthful statement of the situation."

All of the counties of the State had passed under military sway in 1868; their local governments placed in the hands of carpetbag-scalawag-negro rule. All save a few of the white, the poorer and more isolated counties, had been plundered much alike. In the election of 1871 many of the white counties recovered their home governments. And by that of 1873 a majority had overthrown the rascally officials of their respective counties. Even Washington County, one of the blackest, elected a majority of white planters on her board of supervisors, and thereafter the drain of spurious and grafting county warrants ceased. But this step toward full redemption did not, and could not—as will readily be seen—lower the tax rate of counties burthened with debt and flooded with depreciated scrip. Not only was a high rate of local taxation required to meet outstanding warrants,

representing floating debt and interest on bonds, but there was urgent demand for building and repairing schoolhouses and bridges. Particular instances may be cited exposing the false implication, that the high rate of taxation in counties with Democratic local government in 1874 placed home officials on a parity with carpetbaggers and scalawags in its creation:

Newton is one of the counties listed as Democratic. How its high tax rate was created may be read in a "reconstruction thesis" for the State university, by Miss Ruth Watkins,[2] which is said to be "well authenticated":

"It is stated that every schoolhouse that was built during this period cost two or three hundred dollars more than it should. The indebtedness of the county, when the Democrats regained control in 1871, was $40,000, and the county bonds were selling for only 15 cents on the dollar. It was suspected that after the treasurer made his report, the same warrants were put into circulation a second time."

Warrants at 15 cents on the dollar tell the whole story of robber administration. Montgomery was another county under "Democratic administration." In *"Reconstruction in Carroll and Montgomery,"* by Whitty,[3] it is stated of the situation in 1875:

"Taxes at this time were as follows: Ten mills on the dollar for county purposes, ten for the common school fund, and ten for the builder's fund. This added to the ten mills State tax made a total of 4 per cent. Besides, there was a tax of 2.5 mills for 'privileges and professions.' 'Parker, a clever, handsome carpetbagger, besides being sheriff, was Federal collector of revenue and superintendent of education. These offices combined paid him about $12,000 a year.'"

Lauderdale is another of the counties in the "Democratic" list. The following from the *Meridian Gazette* of January 4, 1871, after only a year of alien rule, is cited:

"No county was ever loaded with such a burthen. No such assessment was ever made on the resources and property of the citizens of the State. Comparing the taxes that are to be collected this year with former years, we find the following: Whole assessment of State, county and special taxes in 1866 on each thousand dollars of assessed valuation—$2.00. In 1867, $3.00. In 1868, $3.50. In 1869, $4.00. In 1870, $30.07."

A few months afterward the political atmosphere in Lauderdale was purified by a bloody riot. It will be seen that under

[2]See *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, XI, 205-228.
[3]See ibid, X, 115-134.

such a fruitage of corrupt radical administration of these "Democratic" counties, it was not possible for the ensuing Democratic rule to reduce the rate of taxation; needed as it was, to meet the demands of carpetbag debts and provide necessary improvements of public bridges and buildings. The plight of the people at this period was thus stated in a resolution adopted at a meeting of the State Grange, which was strongest in these "Democratic counties":

> "Taxation in Mississippi had become a burthen so large and excessive that the vital energies of the State are being sapped, paralyzed and destroyed; and ruin inevitable and intolerable stares us in the face."

Having enacted laws which promised an abundance of funds for their extravagant and corrupt expenditures in the future, the legislature adjourned April 6th. The next event of note in the State history was the judicial appointments in anticipation of the expiring terms of various district chancellors. The incumbents, who had been appointed by Alcorn, were supplanted by followers of Ames, and quite regardless of qualifications. Poor appointments were succeeded by worse. Having thus rewarded the faithful and fixed things as it seemed, Ames departed for a summer sojourn in the North. The negro lieutenant-governor, Davis, was left in charge. "Drest in a little brief authority," he sought to play "fantastic tricks." Pardons were dealt out so liberally that the penitentiary was threatened with emptiness. But his grand strike was to appoint certain chancellors in place of those named by Governor Ames. This was done on the ground that appointments made before the terms expired were void. In this Davis had the precedent set by Ames, who had in like manner treated appointment of a chancellor by his predecessor, Governor Powers. While the cross purposes created no little confusion in the districts with rival chancellors, it subsided upon the return of Ames, who set aside the Davis appointments and renewed his own.

There was at this time no apparent symptom of political violence or convulsion in the State. The condition of affairs, the rapid approach of confiscation through taxation, it is true, caused profound discouragement. But there was yet no defined design

of arresting or overthrowing the corrupt government by open resistance and revolution. That method of relief, recent exercise of Federal power in Louisiana and other Southern States seemed to close. People did not realize that, at last, the tolerance of the Northern masses for Southern bayonet rule was approaching exhaustion. The national heart had been profoundly stirred by Lamar's incomparable and immortal Sumner address. It is not too much to say that no other oration in all our history ever produced such a deep and abiding impression, or one so widespread. It touched the long dormant chords of sympathy and kinship in all, except the most obdurate radical partisans. Having won a hearing from a hostile tribunal, the great Mississippi tribune soon followed it up, June 6th, by a speech upon the Louisiana case. He portrayed with a spell and force that no other man could, the enormities of the evils of Southern rule—the extent of the tyranny of the Federal power, which upheld government in Louisiana. It was significant that his speech, while it arrested national attention, passed without reply or challenge in Congress.

In the *New York Tribune* account of a congressional caucus, it was addressed by Fred Douglas on the night after Lamar's speech on the Louisiana case. The negro leader, urging the civil rights bill, delivered this message from his people:

"There can be no reconciliation between the negroes and their old masters. The former would not believe that slavery was beyond revival. They would not trust a white man with their liberties. They could pardon fraud or corruption in a Republican and would sooner vote for one like Moses, of South Carolina, than Lamar."

This told the whole story of the race distrust and implacability on which reconstruction was based.

It was at this juncture that "there arose a little cloud" out of the troubled sea of Mississippi affairs. Goaded by the excessive taxes and corrupt practices of their city government, in June the white men of Vicksburg began organizing for the municipal election to be held August 4th. They were aroused to extreme effort by the nomination of a Republican ticket obnoxious far beyond the one then in power. A notoriously corrupt white man, Martin Keary, was put up for mayor. Seven of eight aldermen,

six of eight school trustees, the city marshal, the cotton weigher, the wharf and harbor master, were negroes. From such a ticket all but the most hardened white Republican revolted. Deeply and darkly as this drew the color line it was no worse than the county official list, of which five out of seven members of the legislature, four out of five county supervisors, the sheriff, the treasurer, chancery and circuit clerks and coroner and ranger were all negroes. Feeling was greatly embittered by the menace in such tickets, and ominous symptoms appeared. The negro militia company was marched up and down the main business street with muskets loaded and bayonets fixed. Drills were held every evening and pickets posted at night, who hailed and halted passers-by—searching them for arms and requiring them to give an account of their being out at night. Talk of bloodshed and slaughter of the whites on election day was common and open. The city and county authorities endeavored to allay the rising storm by proclamations and organizing posses to keep the peace.

The excitement spread to the negroes in the county and in Madison parish across the river. Companies were raised to march on Vicksburg upon call, as one of the leaders declared, "ready to shoot every —— white man." As if these demonstrations were not enough to arouse the whites to preparation for action, on July 9th the following speech of the chancery clerk, an exceedingly offensive and turbulent negro, appeared in the city papers:

"The time was not far distant when miscegenated marriages would occur daily. He would go further and say that there were many thousands of Southern women, many of the most respectable families in Vicksburg, who would marry negroes today were they not afraid. But these things would change, barriers could be broken down; for the white women now see that the negro is the coming man, that they have the control of the State and city governments. If he were not a married man he could get the daughter of one of the best families in Vicksburg, and were he in the matrimonial market he would buckle on a brace of pistols and meet the woman's father or brothers who would dare interfere in his love affairs; to prevent daughters and sisters from their choice in the selection of husbands whom they were anxious to have among the colored men."

There was no urging needed after this for the white men to organize and take up the color line gauge of battle. The trouble was to restrain them within the limits of peace and order. July

21st a white's man's ticket, headed by Dr. Richard O'Leary for mayor, was nominated. Events followed fast—on the next day application was made by the negro lientenant-governor to the president for troops to be sent to Vicksburg. Having sowed the wind, the negro leaders had no stomach for reaping the whirlwind. General Emory, at Holly Springs, was ordered to hold two companies in readiness to proceed to Vicksburg. As soon as it was known that the president had been asked to send troops, he was urged by the mayor, the postmaster of the city and other white Republicans not to do so. Their protest, perhaps, coincided with the President's disrelish to order out the troops on a purely race issue. He felt that Northern sentiment was becoming quite tired of the use of the army for upholding carpetbag and negro corruption in the South. The request of Lieutenant-Governor Davis failing to move the president, Ames was called to Mississippi from his Northern tour. His absence at this juncture was thus noted in the Washington correspondence of the *Cincinnati Gazette* over the signature of H. V. Boynton, a famous correspondent of the time:

"Governor Ames finds it convenient to be absent pleasuring at this important movement, just as he found it convenient to close up house and take to boarding, when Mrs. Ames found the colored brother too numerous and enthusiastic at official receptions and social occasions."

Without going to Vicksburg or taking counsel with both parties to the controversy, on July 1st, the governor addressed the president as follows:

JACKSON, MISS, July 29, 1874.

"To President U. S. Grant, Washington:

"I regret to inform you that I find upon returning that a serious and alarming condition of affairs exists in Vicksburg. Infantry and cavalry organizations exist and it is reported a number of pieces of artillery have been sent to the city. And these bodies, organized and armed without authority and in violation of law, assume to be guardians of the peace. This is a political controversy. One side, the Democrats, represented by the whites, say they fear fraud on the part of their opponents. The Republicans, consisting mainly of blacks, claim they fear frauds, also violence on the part of the Democrats. At one time a collision and bloodshed was feared by all; now by the Republicans. But not by the Democrats, it is believed, only because they have become masters of the situation. It is they who oppose the presence of troops at this time, of course, and of this lamentable state of affairs it is now useless to speak. I only seek peace and protection to all. Can there be any serious objection why troops should not be sent there? No harm can result, for troops are in many of our cities at this moment, and in two cities in this State. Their presence

may do great good. It may save many lives; even one would more than compensate for the harm which might result. Will it not be the least of the evils to have troops there for an emergency?

"ADELBERT AMES,
"Governor of Mississippi."

Two days later the following reply and peremptory refusal was sent:

WASHINGTON, July 31st.

"To Hon. A. Ames:

The contents of your dispatch have been submitted to the president. He declines to move the troops, except under a call made strictly in accordance with the terms of the constitution.

"W. W. BELKNAP,
Secretary of War."

Secretary Belknap's dispatch was absolutely decisive of the result. In the election a few days later the Keary-negro ticket was beaten in every ward of the city. The result, moral and political, extended far beyond Vicksburg. The significant and signal overthrow of a radical ticket, that followed the administration's refusal to back it with troops, revealed the fatal weakness of the whole reconstruction fabric of government. It pointed to the certainty of the recovery of white rule whenever the pressure of Federal force should be lifted. The moral influence of the lesson was reflected in the whole State press. Previously there had been common deprecation of the color line. The theory of a divided negro vote had been urged by the whites in the face of every proof that it was the veriest bubble. Talk of abandonment of a policy that had brought nothing but failure and humiliation now became common. The color line at once grew in popularity, though it was still combatted in the black counties. Here the industrial dependence upon racial harmony and the unpreparedness for strife were the ruling influence. But conciliation and yielding in the whites met with truculences and aggressiveness by the black leaders. There was an uneasiness and an unrest among the negroes that threatened disorders. Any flying spark threatened the conflagation. In dread of the political and industrial consequences, rather than any fears of the physical test of a race collision, the white men practised utmost forbearance and restraint. But it was not possible for

the State to go through the ordeal of the times unscorched. The first clash of magnitude and moment was a race riot in Tunica county. While this was non-political in origin, its spread from the accidental killing of a negro child by a white citizen to the entire negro population of the county, was due to the race hostilities that politicians had so successfully cultivated. A mob said to number a thousand took possession of Austin, the county site, and was with difficulty persuaded not to inflict death upon the man who had fired the fatal shot. The little town was plundered and the few white people terrorized and abused, until a body of white men came in from the adjoining sections and drove out the negroes, killing eight or ten of them. This was a week after the Vicksburg election.

The refusal of the president to send troops to control the city election did not indicate any direct change in the administration's Southern policy. This was shown September 3d when the following circular was issued to certain Southern United States district attorneys and United States marshals:

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, Washington, Sept. 3d.

Sir—Outrages of various description, and in some cases atrocious murders, have been committed in your district by bodies of armed men, sometimes in disguise and with the view, it is believed, of overawing and intimidating peaceable and law-abiding citizens, and depriving them of the rights guaranteed by the constitution and the laws of the United States. Your attention is directed to an act of Congress, passed April 9, 1866, entitled 'An act to protect all persons in the United States in their civil rights, and to furnish means for their vindication;' and to another passed April 20, 1870, entitled 'An act to enforce the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment to the constitution of the United States, and for other purposes'; also to one passed May 20, 1870, entitled 'An act to enforce the rights of citizens of the United States to vote in the several States in this Union, and for other purposes,' which, with their amendments, make these deeds of violence and blood offenses within the jurisdiction of the general government.

I consider it my duty, in view of these circumstances, to instruct you to proceed with all possible energy and dispatch to detect, expose, arrest and punish the perpetrators of these crimes, and to that end you are to spare no effort or necessary expense. Troops of the United States will be stationed at different and convenient points in your district for the purpose of giving all needful aid in the discharge of your official duties. You understand, of course, that no interference whatever is hereby intended with any political or party action, not in violation of law, but protection of all classes of citizens, white and colored, in the free exercise of the elective franchise and enjoyment of the other rights and privileges

to which they are entitled under the constitution and laws as citizens of the United States.

These instructions are issued by the authority of the president and with the concurrence of the secretary of war.

Very respectfully,

GEORGE H. WILLIAMS,
Secretary of War.

This circular was commonly construed as designed for the approaching election of congressmen. The *New York Tribune* said it was "uncalled for and mischievous." The president was strongly advised "to take the management of affairs in his own hands for the reason that his attorney general was not to be trusted." The *New York Herald,* in a long editorial of September 4th, asserted that "instead of an honest measure of reconstruction, we have reduced the conquered States to the condition of Poland, Ireland and worse." These were not Democratic papers, nor had they expended any sympathy on the South. They were warning the administration that it was going beyond the approval of Northern popular sentiment. A few days after the Williams instructions, on September 14th, another proof of the feebleness of the reconstruction governments was shown. In an armed conflict with a hastily organized force of three hundred citizens of New Orleans, Kellogg's Metropolitan Guards, a thousand strong, were completely defeated and chased to the protection of the Federal troops in the custom house. Their commander, Gen. A. S. Badger, was wounded, and, with their cannon, captured. A number of both sides were killed. The conflict had been brought on by the police seizure of certain cases of arms and ammunition consigned to private citizens. At a public open air meeting an appeal to force was urged. The contesting lieutenant-governor issued a proclamation arraigning the Kellogg government as follows:

"I do hereby issue this, my proclamation, calling on the militia of the State to arm and assemble under their respective officers to drive the usurpers from power."

After the conflict, ending in the rout and dispersion of the metropolitans, the usurping government dissolved and sought cover in the customhouse. Additional United States troops were hurried to New Orleans. But there was no symptom or show

of hostility between them and the people—as the white leaguers marched by the customhouse they were heartily cheerd by the blue-clad garrison. On the evening of the conflict Lieutenant Governor Penn sent a dispatch to the president which read:

"Hopeless of all other relief, the people of the State have taken up arms to maintain the legal authority of persons elected by them to the government of the State, against the usurpers who have heaped upon them innumerable insults, burdens and wrongs. In so doing * * * they declare their sincere loyalty and respect for the United State Government and its officers. They war only against usurpers, plunderers, and enemies of the people. * * * We only ask you to withhold aid or protection from our enemies (and the enemies of Republican rights) and the peace and liberties of the people."

The reply of the president came in the form of a proclamation, September 15th, commanding "the turbulent and disorderly persons who were combined with force and arms to overthrow the State government of Louisiana to disperse and retire to their respective abodes in five days." At the same time the commander of the Federal troops was instructed to extend no recognition to "the insurgent government of Louisiana," and that in five days he would be directed "to take such action as the emergency dictated." Orders looking to sending several thousand troops to New Orleans were issued. Ships of war were also selected to occupy the city port. But there was no call for the warlike display. September 17th Governor John McEnery called for the dispersion of the leaguers and the deposit of the captured arms in the various police stations. Protesting against the president's proclamation, he notified General Emory that "the statehouse and other State property would be surrendered to the government of the United States alone."

The surrender was made accordingly, United States troops occupied the capitol building. By order of the president, General Emory again placed Kellogg and his mercenaries in possession of the temple from which they had been scourged. Assurance was given of "the necessary military force to re-establish the State government." Such was the close of the brief and glorious uprising. It was condemned by many for the blood shed in a movement where failure was inevitable. But the lesson, the illustration of the weakness and the wickedness of the Kel-

logg government was not lost on Northern sentiment. The quickly ensuing elections, resulting in an overwhelming Democratic majority of congressmen, was largely influenced by the popular revulsion against Southern misgovernment in which the New Orleans revolt was a large contributor. The moral effect of the signal defeat of radicalism at the polls was marked and immediate. Public meetings to express the common rejoicing were held all over the South. In all a new born spirit of resolute resistance was breathed. In a large gathering of "white men of East Mississippi," at Meridian, the sentiment of joy and hope ran into a call for a Democratic convention at Vicksburg, January 8, 1875. There was no election in Mississippi. Congressmen being chosen then without uniformity of time, this State with half a dozen others elected them the following year. Lieutenant Governor Davis had issued a proclamation for filling legislative vacancies. But Ames returning to the State from an absence of several months, annulled the election order. He saw trouble enough ahead without a November election.

While free from political excitement at this period, events of actual revolutionary significance and force were gathering head. Washington County was one of the few that had profited by the Ames-Alcorn feud; out of which the white citizens had won majority control of the board of supervisors; in the 1873 election. While this achievement marked the end of the waste and robbery, it afforded poor relief from a floating warrant debt already incurred that amounted to bankruptcy, and a rate of taxation which was past endurance. There was enough of encouragement in having control of the county board, joined with the moral inspiration of the Northern Democratic victories to lead to the first overt act of revolt against the existing government. And that step was taken at a large meeting of Washington County taxpayers, held in Greenville, November 16th and 17th, which adopted the following resolutions:

"WHEREAS, for the past five years, in spite of our earnest protests and persistent efforts, the rate of taxation imposed upon us and which we have been forced to pay, has steadily grown greater year by year, while the values of property have as steadily decreased, and in about the same ratio; and,

"WHEREAS, all effort to reduce or check the same has been unavailing,

and the protests of an indignant and despairing people have been alike unheeded by our corrupt and rapacious leaders; and,

"WHEREAS, we do earnestly believe that the power of taxation has been subverted from its true purpose—that of maintaining a pure and well ordered government, administered in the interests of the people—into a source of wealth for corrupt officials and venal politicians; and,

"WHEREAS, taxation for all of its legitimate purposes has proven an utter failure, and is a success only as a means of bankrupting the State and impoverishing the people; and,

"WHEREAS, the taxes for the present year amount in the aggregate to a sum so enormous as to render their payment an impossibility, and to induce us, rather to see our property forfeited than to attempt payment, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That we, the taxpayers of Washington County, in mass-meeting assembled, do hereby bind and pledge ourselves, one to the other, to refuse and resist, by all legal means, the payment of any and all taxes levied for the current fiscal year upon real estate of which we are the owners, or which we have under control.

"*Resolved*, further, That we take this step with no intent to produce civil commotion and discord, or purpose of obstructing the State and county government, in the due and legitimate exercises of their powers, but as the result of mature and earnest thought, with a full knowledge of the consequences, and a resolute determination to abide therein, and as the shortest road out of utter ruin, and the only means left us with which to secure safety for the present and relief for the future."

W. A. PERCY, A. J. PAXTON, STEVENSON ARCHER,
MATT F. JOHNSON, L. B. VALIANT, J. C. ESTILL.

Other resolutions looking to perfecting the organization of a taxpayers league, and to enlist all taxpayers as members, were adopted. Committees were appointed for this purpose in each supervisors' district, and another meeting called to receive and act upon their reports for November 27th. In the *Greenville Times*, which published the proceedings of this meeting, the following statement of taxes was given:

State tax, on the dollar property valuation	10 mills
School tax, on the dollar property valuation	4 mills
County taxes, on the dollar property valuation	13 mills
Levee construction tax, on the dollar property valuation	15 mills
Total	42 mills

This tax of over four per cent. was imposed upon an assessment that approximated the par value of properties; under the equalization law of the proceding session of the legislature, assessments having been taken wholly from the control of the owners, or the county boards of supervisors. In addition to the *ad valorem* tax as enumerated above, in the counties of the levee

district—Washington, Bolivar and Issaquena—there was a tax of 15 cents an acre on land and a cent a pound on cotton. Such a burthen literally justified the declaration of the Washington County taxpayers, November 16th. At the subsequent meeting, November 27th, the taxpayers' league was formally constituted, with practically all of the taxpayers as members, and pledged not to pay taxes. C. W. Lewis was made president and D. L. Stone secretary of the league. Closely following the Greeneville convention there was a call for a State taxpayers' convention at Jackson for January 4, 1875, signed by J. Z. George, W. L. Nugent, Henry Musgrove and William Palmer, citizens of Hinds County.

White line clubs were being organized all over the State, mainly under the provocation of misgovernment that was reflected through wasteful and corrupt uses of the revenues, and a taxation rate that was unendurable. In effecting a club organization in Madison County, a meeting presided over by the Hon. S. A. D. Greaves declared "the election of five illiterate and ignorant negroes to the important position of members of the board of supervisors is a disgrace to the county." It was resolved that,

> "The board as constituted is a miserable farce, and that their proceedings are null and void, because the members are so wholly incompetent to transact the business brought before them that they are compelled to discharge the duties of their office through a deputy who is in fact the board."

For such grievances the law afforded no ways or means of redress. The agencies of wrong formed a complete circuit, taking in the courts, and all the machinery of government.

While the symptoms of discontent and resistance were outcropping in many parts of the State, a storm of cyclonic intensity was gathering in Warren County and Vicksburg. Goaded by the tax burthen, with the evidence of robbery by a gang of negro officials flaunting in their faces, emboldened by the recent successful city election, patience ceased to be looked on as a virtue. In August specific discovery was made that the negro court clerks were flooding the city with fraudulent witness certificates and county warrants. The chancery clerk, the already notorious Davenport, added fuel to the rising flame by refusing to let a

citizens' committee examine his records. His bond was found to be missing. September 23d the board of supervisors was cited to the defectiveness of the bond of the negro sheriff and tax collector, Peter Crosby. As the time for collection of the year's taxes was approaching, the board was petitioned to require him to perfect his bond. To thwart this purpose the board adjourned; after drawing a grand jury composed so as not to indict official thieves. Greatly exasperated, the citizens' committee attended the next meeting of the board, October 6th, and renewed the request that the sheriff make a good bond. As the board dared not deny the motion, an order was made accordingly—that such bond be made and filed. The sheriff's response was a notice in the Radical paper that he would not regard the order unless it was perfected in a judgment by the supreme court. This was flat violation of the law, which directed boards of supervisors to exact solvent bonds, and to vacate county offices upon failure to give them. It will readily be seen that the sheriff's defiance did not tend to allay the discontent.

This playing with fire reached a crisis November 17th, when the events heretofore related came to a head. In spite of a negro majority on the grand jury, indictments were found against the two county clerks, for forgery and embezzlement. The action of the grand jury was attended by a sequel that was presented to the judge in that body's report which stated that,

"They had found forty indictments, implicating, among others, prominent officials and ex-officials of the county, for forgery and embezzlement, and exposing such frauds as astound them, and who await with patience the action of the court and petit jury to bring to justice the official plunderers. During our session it was ascertained that the public records were altered and changed to suit the purpose of the plunderers; and since the indictments have been returned to the court those records have been stolen, in efforts to hide the guilt of the offenders."

The persons indicted were Davenport, chancery clerk; Dorsey, circuit clerk, and Cardoza, ex-circuit clerk, and then State superintendent of education; all negroes. The grand jury report was the spark that fired the train. A meeting was held the same day, which after spirited addresses issued a call for a meeting of taxpayers of Warren County the following Wednesday, December the 2d.

This meeting, which marked the crucial and turning point was largely attended. It was called to order and the purpose stated by Judge Warren Cowan. A committee on resolutions submitted a report reciting the aggravated situation under which the county labored, with the following recommendation, which was adopted:

"*Resolved,* That a committee of ten taxpayers of the city and county be appointed to wait on the county officers and require their immediate resignation—that in the event of refusal to comply with the demands of the taxpayers of the county, we take such steps as will accomplish the ends proposed."

Subsequently such officers as were referred to were named and the committee appointed. The first name on the list was Col. Jno. D. Beard, an ex-Union soldier. At three o'clock the meeting reassembled to receive the report of the committee, which was declared to amount to a refusal of the officers to resign. After discussion the meeting adjourned to meet at the courthouse and demand that which had been refused—a resignation. Going there only the sheriff was found in his office, and he tendered his resignation in writing "to take effect immediately." Beard was placed in temporary charge, guards were placed over the jail and the meeting adjourned to meet the next morning.

Nothing occurred the next day—there was a lull in the revolution so easily and bloodlessly effected. But every one knew it was only a lull. The deposed sheriff and others of the officials went to Jackson to lay their troubles before Governor Ames. It was announced on the evening of the 4th that Crosby and the rest would be "reinstated." He was told by Governor Ames to return to Vicksburg and demand restoration of the sheriff's office. If refused he was to summon a posse comitatus, and if that failed the militia would be called out. Crosby returned to Vicksburg, accompanied by Adjutant General Packer, and Col. O. S. Lee, of the governor's staff, to shape matters according to the plan decided on. In furtherance of the same, on December 5th, a proclamation was issued by the governor, reciting that "riotous and disorderly persons have combined by force of arms and by threats and intimidation have expelled from his office the sheriff of Warren County," etc., "and made threats against other

county officials, whereby they were impelled to flee for their lives, and whereas such threats and intimidations have been directed exclusively against colored officials, and whereas it is satisfactorily presented to me that the object of such riotous and disorderly action is to deprive colored men of their civil and political rights because of their color," etc. The usual riot command to disperse closed this proclamation. The false statement of the object of the uprising was two fold in purpose. One was to mislead Northern Republican sentiment from the facts that official robbery and confiscatory taxation, and not the color line animosity alleged, had provoked the revolt; the other to lay a claim for Federal intervention under the fourteenth amendment. At the same time an inflammatory circular was issued over Crosby's signature, and distributed among the country negroes. It denounced those who had driven him from his office as "an armed mob of the most bitter and relentless of our enemies." With more incendiary invective the support of Crosby's friends was called for, closing with the announcement that "we have joined issue, now let us fight the cause on its merits by any and all means known to the constitution and laws of our State."

The governor's proclamation and the sheriff's circular were published in the *Vicksburg Herald* of Sunday morning, December 6th. Crosby had, upon being confronted with his paper vehemently denied it. It was afterwards learned that a negro clerk in the office of the secretary of State had written it. But it was thoroughly authenticated as corroborating the governor's direction to the Warren County sheriff, to call for a posse comitatus to force his way back to control of the office from which he had been ejected. In the same Sunday paper an explicit reply to the governor's proclamation, with a sweeping denial of his charges, was published by the Taxpayers' League.

While a feeling of deep unrest prevailed, for every one knew affairs could not rest as they were, there was no anticipation of the sanguinary scenes on which the ensuing day, Monday, was to close. Though it had been reported that the governor would attempt to reinstate the ousted officials by negro militia, his proclamation did not seem to sustain such an intention. How far

the public expectation was from assured conflict will be read in *The Herald's* account of the situation, Sunday morning, closing as follows:

"It is thought matters will be settled peaceably in a few days. The board of supervisors will meet Tuesday. It is probable at that time the sheriff will be required to give a new bond. If he does this, the taxpayers will be satisfied. If he does not, the office will be declared vacant and an election ordered."

A very different course had been decided upon by Governor Ames and Attorney General Geo. H. Harris. This was that Sheriff Crosby should secretly summon the negroes to restore him to office *vi et armis*. Such summons was conveyed by negro runners, who notified the country negro men to arm, organize and be in Vicksburg on Monday morning, when circuit court, which the sheriff was required to officially attend and open, was to meet.

The account of what followed is taken from the *Vicksburg Herald* of the day following the conflict, Tuesday, December 8th:

"It was reported on Sunday evening that couriers were going through the city notifying the negroes to rendezvous at appointed points, to march on the city and reinstate Crosby in the sheriff's office. While very few placed credence in the story, guards were set. Alarms were sounded as early as Monday morning at 3 o'clock and subsequently, and the citizen-soldiery assembled."

Mayor Richard O'Leary issued a proclamation in tenor similiar to that published by the taxpayers. Referring to the reported march of the negroes from the country on the city, which was attributed to the governor's proclamation, "all good citizens were called on to observe the laws, holding themselves in readiness to respond to any call I may make upon them for enforcing this proclamation. Unlawful assemblages and armed bodies of men were ordered to disperse and retire to their homes." About 9 A. M. courthouse and fire bells sounded a general alarm. A hundred mounted men rode out Grove street under Col Horace Miller and met the approaching negroes inside the city limits, under Andrew Owens. Ordering his men to halt Colonel Miller rode forward and urged the negroes to disperse to their homes, or take the consequences. Owens replied that he was there in obedience to the summons of the sheriff and would only disperse at the orders of that official. He requested permission

to see the sheriff, who was then under guard at the courthouse. The visit was permitted, and Owens returned with orders from Sheriff Crosby to lead his men home. After apparently consenting to this, the negroes defiantly announced they had come for a fight and were going to have it. The firing at once opened from both sides, the negroes soon taking to flight. Six or seven were killed and as many wounded. Fifteen or twenty, including Owens, were here captured. A little past ten a large body of negroes came on from further west, down the Jackson road. The encounter with them took place near the Pemberton monument; the spot where Grant received the surrender of the city. Here the negroes were protected in the old entrenchments. They were driven out by a charge in which a small company of mounted men under Captain John Hogan from the Snyder Bluff neighborhood took part. One of that party, Oliver Brown, was shot dead, and about twenty-five negroes were killed or wounded. About the same hour there was a combat south of the city, from which quarter a body of negroes was advancing. They were easily routed and a number killed and wounded. By 11:30 scouts reported that the negroes had disappeared from all positions and roads. But on the next day a message was received from Snyder's Bluff that the funeral party of Oliver Brown, who had been killed in the fighting near the Pemberton monument, had been ambushed and one of the attendants killed. A combat ensued in which three negroes were killed. On receipt of this news a mounted party from Vicksburg, under Dr. H. H. Shannon, proceeded to Snyder's Bluff in response to a call, for aid, but there were no further hostilities.

Throughout the trying and stirring scenes related, the demeanor and bearing of the white people of Vicksburg, men and women, was admirable. There was a freedom from excitement and hysteria, a composed and resolute spirit in the presence of the threatened negro inundation. There were doubtless instances of needless bloodshed. But under the circumstances, the provocation and the peril, this was inevitable. Some severity in saving the city from every imaginable horror, of sack, slaughter, arson and rapine, was not only natural, but called for as a terrifying example. When all the facts are considered it is creditable to the

men who met and overthrew Crosby's posse comitatus, that there was so little uncalled for killing. This was largely because so great a proportion of the white companies was composed of ex-soldiers, Union and Confederate, and used to the control and direction of their officers; all of whom were war veterans.

The day after the riot Col. O. S. Lee, of the governor's staff, and Adjutant General Packer, who had remained in the city, conceivably to direct the negro militia company in support of the advancing posse, held consultation with citizens upon the troubled situation. A *modus vivendi* was arranged, the first article of which was that Crosby should resign the sheriff's office again, and be given safe conduct out of the city. There was a strong sentiment favoring his summary execution. In the night after the fighting the guard over him was forced and it required earnest appeals to save his life. There was a similar attempt the following morning. The chief argument in Crosby's favor was that, after all, he was acting under the counsels of others higher in authority. The common impression was expressed in the following from the Radical organ, the *Vicksburg Times* of December 12th:

"Now that all has begun to assume an aspect serene, we try to look back over the bloody fields and deeds of the past few days, and come to some conclusion as to who were the instigators of, and consequently answerable to the offending laws for the extremes to which our citizens have been compelled to resort.

* * * * * * *

The colored men have been grossly and criminally deceived; this many of them acknowledge to, and some speak of revenge against their leaders. Some say Crosby is at the bottom of it. This we do not believe; the indications are that Crosby is as big a fool as some of his country friends, but we believe he is the pliant tool of a power behind the throne who cares no more for spilling negro blood than he does for beef blood, so that it subserves his purpose and enables him to achieve his ends."

The article here quoted placed the number of negroes slain at "over three-score."

As agreed upon between Col. O. S. Lee and Adjutant General Packer, representing Governor Ames, and the citizens of Vicksburg, the control of the county, the protection of the people and the enforcement of the law, was left in the hands of the armed

bands of citizens. Col. John D. Beard was continued in general charge. His general order No. 1 directed commanders of companies to report to Col. William French, who issued special order No. 1, accepting the command. Matters having thus been disposed of Colonels Lee and Packer returned to Jackson to report to Governor Ames. At the end of his resources and wits, the governor could do nothing but call the legislature in special session; though it was due to meet the following month. His proclamation dated December 8th, recited that "the lawfully constituted officers of Warren County are prevented from discharging their official duties by an armed insurrection, notwithstanding and in defiance of my proclamation of the 4th inst.," etc.; and that as there was no legislation to meet an emergency of this character, the legislature was called to convene in the city of Jackson on the 17th inst. In the paper containing this proclamation, there was published notice of the finding of the stolen records, under the house of Chancery Clerk Davenport; who, with others of the gang of official thieves, had absconded.

After calling the legislature the governor next sought aid and comfort in a lengthy communication, in the *New York Herald* of December 9th. This was aimed to make the best case he could for Northern sentiment, of the bloody blot and break down of his government. To sustain his desperate and besotted course, and obtain relief from the national government, he gave out a mendaciously partisan account of the Vicksburg troubles. While grossly perverting the action of the white citizens, no credence or consideration whatever was given to their insufferable and long endured wrongs. No rebuke nor censure was expressed for the corrupt officials. In the face of documentary proof of their rascalities, they were held up as the victims of color line persecutions. Worst of all, no concern or compunction was manifested by Governor Ames for the horrors that would have been wreaked on the white people of Vicksburg, the women and children, had the negro attack which he countenanced and authorized, proved successful.

This letter, which was wired to *The Herald,* read, in part, as follows:

"JACKSON, MISS., Dec. 9, 1874.

To the Editor of the New York Herald:

I take this as an opportunity to present an incident of the suffering of the colored people of the South in their slow and uncertain course toward personal liberty and personal security, with the hope that the great generous heart of the nation may be moved, because I have yet to see political events in the South reported fairly for Republicans; and least of all to set myself right before the people. That it should be fairly represented cannot be expected from a partisan opposition which can find it in their hearts to put scores of men to death for political reasons. * * * The present troubles in Vicksburg are but the natural outgrowth of the violence of last August's election, and are, in my opinion, for political purposes.

The white leaguers at one time and the taxpayers' league at another, have been for some time, through their committees, examining the books and papers of the county officials. They, the leaguers, it is said, forced themselves on the grand jury, and after a lengthy session found indictments against but one county official. * * * Here let me say, Republican officials who have to give bonds are constantly being attacked through them and embarrassed beyond measure. The circuit court was in session and the judge being deprived of his sheriff (forced to resign) came down from the bench and was going to leave the room, but was forced to return and adjourn the court to a given day. The following is a note received by me from the judge:

'To His Excellency, Governor Ames:

'It becomes my duty to inform you that an organized mob, composed of several hundred armed men, have this evening taken forcible possession of the courthouse and forced most of the county officials to resign or flee to the country. The mob is in possession of the records and threatens violence to any one who does not recognize their authority. My court is in session, but I am powerless and cannot exercise the law. Relief must be furnished from abroad in the way of military, by the State or general government, and that quickly to prevent general riot and loss of life.

'Very respectfully,

'GEO. F. BROWN,

'Judge Fifteenth District."

Thus anarchy prevailed. Then came the question, shall the United States be called on, or shall the State attempt to maintain its authority. For obvious reasons the president should not be called on until the State authorities had acted. Saturday, Sheriff Crosby returned to Vicksburg. My adjutant-general went the same day. The city was then full of armed men. * * * Such in brief are the facts. The leaguers have had full and complete control of the affairs in Vicksburg, and there was no more necessity for the massacre of Monday than there was for the riot in your city some twelve years ago, which resulted in the death of so many innocent and harmless negroes."

The governor's wave of the bloody shirt, his attempt to convict the white people of Vicksburg of a murderous color line uprising was not a success. A story reported and believed to have leaked out from the war council that planned the recapture of the sheriff's office gained national circulation. It was to the effect

that when one of the parties in the consultation remonstrated against the plan, saying it would lead to bloodshed, Ames replied, "What if it does? The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church." That he designed and expected the movement upon the city to succeed, untroubled as to what would follow, there is the fullest circumstantial evidence. But there were incidents of the riots on which Governor Ames did not count. One was that, with the fewest exceptions every white man of Vicksburg, including the then large sprinkling of ex-Union soldiers, stood shoulder to shoulder in resisting the negro attack. The governor's other miscalculation was upon the city negro militia company. Consisting of a hundred well drilled men, armed with improved guns and supplied with an abundance of ammunition, this organization was expected to support and join in the attack of Crosby's posse of country negroes. But not a city negro took part in the fray. That the militia was calculated on to take a hand in it is shown by the following message.

"VICKSBURG, MISS., Dec. 7, 1874.

"To Governor Ames:

Riot commenced about 9 o'clock A. M. Fighting outside city limits, on Grove Street. Armed bodies moving out on different streets. They have possession of the courthouse, and Sheriff Crosby is under arrest. Militia are powerless to enforce order.

"A. G. PACKER,
"Adjutant-General."

That a test of the Warren County issue by arms was acceptable to Governor Ames, a publication by Dr. J. H. D. Bowmar, the foreman of the grand jury and a citizen of irreproachable character shows. It is here quoted from:

"On Sunday, the 6th inst., being in the city of Jackson on business, I requested an interview with Governor Ames for the purpose of giving him a true statement of the cause of the excitement then existing in Vicksburg against Peter Crosby and other officials. The request was granted and I stated to Governor Ames that I was a member of the grand jury which had found indictments against the chancery and circuit clerks, and the State superintendent of education, late circuit clerk of Warren County, for embezzlement, forgery, etc.; that during the session the records of the treasurer's office and part of the chancery clerk's had been stolen; that these books contained evidence of very great frauds and were locked up for safer keeping, but the room was broken open and they were abstracted. The governor replied that the people of Warren County had forced Peter Crosby, the sheriff, from office, and that if they wanted a difficulty he (Ames) was placid and would be pleased to meet

the issue, which was purely political; that if Crosby was a white man no trouble would have occurred about his bond. That he had settled his accounts correctly last winter and the people ought to be satisfied with him."

To this statement which wholly ignored the grievances of the plundered people, Dr. Bowmar replied by a fuller recital of the wrongs which called for redress. He was met by a reference from Governor Ames to defaults of sheriffs under Governor McNutt, "when there were no riots or disturbances." The interview closed with a reiteration by the governor of his former statement, that "the movement in Vicksburg was purely political, and he was placid and ready to meet the issue." In a supplemental interview, replying to a misstatement by Governor Ames of what had passed between them, Dr. Bowmar said:

"I will say that I saw Governor Ames with reluctance, but felt it a duty to show him the justification of the people. I left him with the belief that his partisan feelings were such that he desired this conflict, and I believe he knew at the time of our conversation that 3,000 negroes with arms were preparing to move stealthily on Vicksburg Monday morning, the 7th, to surprise our people and with what results no human could tell. But as I conscientiously believe, it would have been at the sacrifice of hundreds, there is no doubt it was the cause of the governor's placidity."

It may be deemed strange that in this bloody and clearly drawn collision on the line of color, there was no attendant, no collateral clash in the surrounding territory. Reasoning superficially one would think that when the train was lighted there would be conflict and conflagration on every hand. But this not only did not occur; there was no lasting or serious disturbance of the ordinary intercourse between whites and blacks, on the plantations. Negroes armed and went to Vicksburg from adjacent neighborhoods and plantations, to engage in race hostilities. White men acted likewise—leaving their wives and children in localities where the negroes outnumbered the whites four or five to one, protected by boys and old men. There was not even any material interruption of the crop-gathering in the perturbed area, among the great majority of the negroes. Beaten in their ill-advised attempt to reinstate the negro sheriff, the bands composing the posse returned to their homes and their work in the cotton fields, minus their dead, and the routine of life and relationship with the whites went on as before. There

is easy explanation of this paradoxical situation in the plastic subjectivity of the negro, his natural drift upon encounters with organized force on the lines of least resistance. Under the rude handling these Ames dupes received, the dormant subordination to the ex-slave owners which yet lingered in the ex-slaves, reasserted itself in full force. Of course, had the conflict resulted differently all would have been changed. This was thoroughly understood and the knowledge of the stake nerved the white men to make it impossible for the Crosby movement to succeed. In his testimony before the congressional committee Capt. John Hogan, who commanded the county company which came to the city and took part in repelling the negro attack, said:

"Our object in coming to town on the 7th was because we believed that the colored people were coming to Vicksburg armed, and that if successful in the city would destroy us in the country, and for that reason we came to help protect the city and in that way defend ourselves. There are about 120 members on our rolls, who live over most of the 5th supervisor's district. Living over the same ground are five or six times as many black as white men. About one hundred of them attempted to come to Vicksburg, but were turned back on advice of Washington Chevis, colored. They committed some acts of violence."

To refute such misleading and injurious statements as that of Governor Ames, and to set themselves right in public opinion by placing the responsibilities of the riot where it belonged, a lengthy and circumstantial narrative of events leading up to the conflict was drawn up and signed by thirty of the leading citizens of Vicksburg, headed by ex-Governor B. G. Humphreys. From that document, which was published in the *Vicksburg Herald* of December 13, 1874, the following extracts are taken:

"At the election in 1873, T. W. Cardoza was elected State superintendent of eductaion, whereby the office of circuit clerk of Warren County, which he held, became vacant. Thereupon, Governor Ames appointed A. W. Dorsey, a colored Republican, to fill the vacancy, which act was on his part a gross usurpation inasmuch as our statutes plainly declare that such vacancies shall be filled by election. In the month of August, 1874, the State auditor, a Republican, discovered that a large amount of forged and fraudulent witnesses' certificates had been issued from the office of the circuit clerk, and on the affidavit of the auditor, A. W. Dorsey was arrested. He resigned his office, procured bail, and is now at large in this city. The investigation of Dorsey's frauds led to the discovery that T. W. Cardoza, his predecessor, and now superintendent of education, had been guilty of similar offenses. He was arrested, giving bail to answer before the circuit court. George W. Davenport, clerk of the chancery court, was

clerk of the board of supervisors, and as such charged with the duty of issuing all county warrants and custodian of the county seal and public records pertaining to county finances. It being discovered that a large amount of forged and fraudulent county warrants were in circulation, he was repeatedly called on to make a full report to the board of supervistors of the warrants outstanding and persistently and contemptuously refused to do so. A committee of taxpayers was by him refused the privilege of examining the warrant records. At the last term of the circuit court the grand jury, composed of ten blacks and seven whites, found four bills of indictment against A. W. Dorsey, seven against T. W. Cardoza, and five against Davenport, for the offenses above named. They cover but a small portion of their crimes, of which the evidence is in writing and incontestible.

* * * * * * * *[4]

[4][Here follows the story of the stolen records, already recounted.]

"On the 22d of September, 1874, the board was informed by a written petition of citizens and taxpayers of the insufficiency of Crosby's bonds, and at a meeting held on that day they received the opinion in writing of Hon. Luke Lea, their attorney, a Republican official of character and standing, that the bonds were not such as the law required. On the ——, 1874, the board passed an order requiring Crosby to give new bonds. On the day when Crosby appeared to tender his new bonds, the petitioning taxpayers being present, the board refused to pass upon the new bonds, and announced their action would be postponed until the next morning. On the evening of the same day they met stealthily and informally, and accepted the new bonds which were notoriously insufficient and almost worthless, the sureties thereon being for the most part public officials residing in different parts of the State and colored men of small, or no means, residing in this county. Moreover, after this action, at least eight of the sureties on the new bonds applied to the board by written communication to be relieved as such sureties, and although two members of the board twice called meetings to take action in the matter, no quorum could be obtained, and it was well known that neither illness nor disability prevented the attendance of the other members. It was generally believed that the failure to act was due to the influence of Crosby and the indicted officials who were interested in keeping him in office. After this, Crosby, on the 7th day of November, 1874, published a card in the *Vicksburg Times* stating that he would not further attempt to give his bonds, and would hold his office until ousted by a judgment of the supreme court.

"This then, was the condition of affairs in our county government on the 2d day of December, 1874, viz.: That the State and county taxes, amounting to about 5 per cent. on the value of property, were about to fall due; that the sheriff, to whom they were payable, was insolvent and without sufficient bonds; that the board of supervisors, though importuned to do so, had failed to take the measures required by the law, for the protection of the people; that valuable public records and papers, necessary as evidence to the conviction of Cardoza, Davenport and Dorsey, on the indictments found against them, had been stolen from the courthouse, of which the sheriff is by law the keeper; that Crosby, the sheriff, was known to be the intimate personal and political friend of these criminals, and, besides being charged with the important duty of summoning the juries by whom they should be tried, was the custodian of the records fur-

nishing the evidence of their guilt, and had failed to protect the same from larceny and spoillation; and that to all appearances these officials seemed banded together for mutual protection and in strength of numbers and mutual countenance, were defying the laws of the State, and prostituting their offices to their private ends.

"In this state of affairs all confidence in the integrity and competency of these officials being destroyed, a mass-meeting of taxpayers of the county was held in Vicksburg on Wednesday, the 2d day of December, 1874 (this date is important), at which a committee was appointed to wait upon Crosby and Davenport and the board of supervisors, and demand their resignations. This committee found only Crosby and Davenport, by whom they were informed that they would give their answers in half an hour. Failing to receive their answers within this time, the taxpayers proceeded in a body to the courthouse to repeat their demand. There they found Crosby only, who, upon demand made (unaccompanied by any threats or exhibition of violence), placed his written resignation in their hands. Davenport had in the meantime absconded, and has not since been seen in the county.

"The courthouse and public records were immediately placed in charge of a well-known citizen, who is an ex-officer of the Federal army, and who, upon the assembling of the board of supervisors, surrendered the same to them as the proper custodians thereof.

"On the following day Crosby having addressed a communication to the judge of the circuit court, asserting that his resigntaion had been given under duress, and that he still claimed the right to exercise the duties of sheriff, proceeded to Jackson, where he had an interview with Governor Ames, in which he was counseled (as he has since stated), to take forcible measures to reinstate himself in office, which he subsequently adopted, and which will presently be set forth.

"At this juncture Governor Ames issues a proclamation in which the taxpayers, who had taken the proceedings above set forth for their protection and security, were denounced as riotous and disorderly persons, who had combined together with force and arms, and expelled from his office the sheriff of Warren County, and compelled other county officials to flee for their lives, and that their object was to deprive colored men of their civil and political rights, because of their color, and this, notwithstanding he was fully advised of the real condition of affairs in the county and of the true character of the proceedings on the part of the citizens above mentioned.

"Contemporaneously with this proclamation of Governor Ames, a printed handbill, over the signature of Peter Crosby, appeared upon the streets of Vicksburg, and was extensively circulated among the colored people of the county, in which the taxpayers were denounced as a 'mob of ruffians,' 'barbarians' and 'political banditti,' and which, in highly inflammatory language, called upon his friends to support him. This handbill Crosby has since stated was prepared by a colored Republican in the office of the secretary of State at Jackson.

"On the day after its appearance in Vicksburg, Crosby published a card in the newspapers of the city, stating that his object in publishing the said handbill was 'not to direct abusive language against anybody, but to set himself right before the people, to whom he owed everything, and that he did not see it before publication.' This proclamation of Governor Ames and the handbill of Crosby appeared Saturday, December 5th. About the same time O. S. Lee, aid-de-camp to Governor Ames, and A. G. Packer, his adjutant-general of militia, appeared in Vicksburg—upon what business is not certainly known. But it *is* known from a statement made

by O. S. Lee, aid-de-camp, to two of our prominent citizens, that P. C. Hall, a colored captain of militia, of violent temper and bad character, received orders from Goveror Ames to hold his company in readiness, which orders were not transmitted to him through Brigadier-General Furlong, who is the commander of this militia district, and who is an ex-Federal officer and a Republican. It is also known that no orders were given to any other militia company.

"Determined to exhaust every possible means of protection afforded by the law, and ignorant of the violent measures contemplated by Crosby and his confederates, the taxpayers on the evening of Sunday, the 6th of December, prepared and presented to Hon. E. Hill, of this district, a bill in equity, praying that Crosby might be required to execute sufficient bonds within a time to be fixed, and that in the meanwhile he be enjoined from exercising the functions of the office of sheriff and tax collector.

"The chancellor prepared the order granting the injunction, at his home, on Sunday night, and would have delivered it to the attorney who prepared the bill on the following morning to be served, had not events happened which made it useless to prosecute that remedy any further. Pending the injunction, had it been permitted, the citizens to follow that course, it would have been the duty of the judge of the circuit court, then in session, also a Republican, to appoint some responsible person sheriff *pro tempore,* and it was confidently believed that in this way our principal troubles would have been peaceably and permanently removed. While the consultation was being had with Chancellor Hill, A. G. Packer, Governor Ames' adjutant-general, and Crosby came in together, and Crosby was informed that it was rumored that the negroes of the county would attempt to invade the city upon the following morning. He disclaimed any knowledge on the subject, but said he had the power to disperse them, though he saw no objection to their coming if they desired. Upon this he was earnestly besought by Chancellor Hill and the citizens present to send out orders to them that night to return to their homes, since if they made such an attempt much blood would be shed. Crosby promised to do so. Nevertheless, early on the next morning positive information was received that armed negroes from the county were marching on Vicksburg in large numbers. Our citizens thus suddenly aroused to a sense of their great danger, hastily armed and took positions on the roads in the suburbs of the city. They came in conflict with three separate bodies of armed negroes, numbering from two to four hundred each, on three different roads, and defeated and repulsed each body. It is estimated that from fifty to one hundred negroes were killed and wounded, and almost thirty were captured, all of whom, except four of the leaders, have been released and permitted to go to their homes.

"It may be here added that at an interview had between a number of our citizens and O. S. Lee, aid-de-camp, and A. G. Packer, adjutant-general, representing Governor Ames, after the occurrences mentioned had taken place, it was admitted by the latter that the negroes who marched upon the city were lawless bodies of armed men, and that our citizens could not have done otherwise than repel the invasion thus made upon them.

"And, further, that all the prisoners captured concurred in stating they were acting under orders from Crosby. That such was the case, and that in the audacious and murderous assault upon our people, this man was counselled and countenanced by Governor Ames and those in his immediate confidence, indisputably appears from the facts already stated, as

well as from the following letter which was received by Crosby during his confinement:

'Office Supt. of Public Education,
'Jackson, Miss., Dec. 6, 1874.

'Dear Crosby,—Do not make any compromise with those fellows. The governor is at your back. Steps will soon be taken for your relief. They will be ample, and you need not fear. I do not care now to say what they will be, but you will be all right. Don't fear anything. We are opposed to any and all compromise.

'Your friend,
'Cardoza.'

"On the 8th inst. Crosby placed his written resignation of the sheriff's office in the hands of A. G. Packer, Governor Ames' adjutant-general, by whom it was, on the following day, presented to and accepted by the board of supervisors, and an election was ordered by them to be held on the 31st inst. to fill the vacancy. The board of supervisors have also just ordered an election to fill the vacancy in the office of circuit clerk, which vacancy has existed since November, 1873, the duties of which office, as before explained, having in the meantime been performed by persons appointed by Governor Ames, in gross violation of law. It is at least remarkable that the supervisors have only at this late day determined to perform their duty in this regard.

"Upon this record the people of Warren County are willing to receive the judgment of their country. From it they feel assured their fair-minded fellow-citizens everywhere must inevitably conclude:

"That for several years past our county government has been in the hands of ignorant and corrupt officials who, with one or two exceptions, have plundered the public treasury and set the laws and rights of the people at defiance.

"That these officials have of late been so banded together as effectually to deprive the people of the remedies provided by law for their protection, and secure to themselves comparative immunity from punishment for their crimes.

"That in their crusade against the rights of the people, these officials have received the countenance and support of high authority in State government.

"That the governor has himself twice invaded their rights, in open violation of the State laws and constitution, by assuming to fill by executive appointment an office made elective by the people.

"That all these officials have been Republicans, and nearly all of them of the colored race, and that not one has ever been molested in his office by reason of his politics or his color.

"That our people had endured these evils in a spirit of forbearance until forbearance ceased to be a virtue, and they were impelled to resistance by the instinct of self-preservation.

"That they assembled peaceably and as the surest means of obtaining security, demanded of these faithless stewards that they resign the trusts confided to them.

"That failing in this they resorted to the remedy by injunction in equity in so far as it was, in its nature, available to their case.

"That these peaceable measures on their part were met by a scheme of violence and bloodshed, in which the lives of themselves and their families were imperiled and they were obliged to take up arms in their defense.

"That in this scheme these county officials were aided, counselled and encouraged by the governor of the State, and through his influence, by other officials of the State government, civil and military.

"That the citizens of Vicksburg, in resisting the assault made upon their homes, captured a number of their assailants and arrested the sheriff who had incited them to this riot, and that out of respect for the laws and a regard for human life, no violence was done to any of them.

"That the sheriff has finally and fully resigned his office, a new election been ordered, and peace and quiet restored in our county.

"That there is, therefore, no reason why the State should be subjected to the expense of an extra session of the legislature to make laws for this county.

"That our people in the trying circumstances in which they have been placed, might well have done *more,* and could not have done *less* for the protection of themselves, their families and their property.

"Dated at Vicksburg, Dec. 12, 1874.

"(Signed)

"B. G. Humphreys, J. A. Klein, W. A. Fairchild, J. W. M. Harris, R. L. Buck, H. F. Cook, Jno. D. Beard, W. H. McCardle, Jno. D. Tinney, J. J. Cowan, J. H. D. Bowmar, H. Shannan, Frederic Speed, Warren Cowan, W. B. Pittman, D. R. Thomas, Geo. M. Klein, E. S. Butts, P. F. Whitehead, W. H. Andrews, Charles E. Furlong, A. W. Brien, A. A. Trescott, H. H. Miller, E. D. Clark, T. C. Catchings, S. Gordon Adam, A. M. Paxton, J. F. Baum, C. K. Marshall, H. E. O'Reilly."

This address, which is so copiously quoted, is deemed of lasting value for its enlightenment of the student of reconstruction history. The provocation it so truthfully portrays carries a conclusive justification of the white people of Vicksburg in a combat that echoed throughout the country.

For rightly understanding Governor Ames at this juncture it is to be remembered that he was in the clutch of a mighty hard condition. While he was directly responsible for the particular troubles confronting him, his responsibility ran concurrent with the elemental and inevitable causes of race conflict. These Governor Ames was not only incapable of coping with; he did not comprehend them. A dull bigot, seamed with sectional prejudice, with habits of action shaped and seasoned by military rigidity, the arrival of a crisis inextricably involved him in its throes. Between such a governor and such a situation, there was produced such a culmination that the country was enlightened as never before upon the impotency and putridity of the reconstruction governments. The glare of the outburst of race conflict attracted special correspondents of Northern papers, close observers and luminous writers, to the scene. Through their descriptions the people were steered reasonably clear of false

coloring which the carpetbag apologists sought to convey. The most candid and talented of all was H. V. R. (Redfield), of the *Cincinnati Commercial*. His correspondence was especially interesting, from the interviews he obtained with prominent Republican officials. His series of letters are quoted from as follows:

"JACKSON, MISS., Dec. 19, 1874.

"Judge Brown, you will remember, is judge of the circuit court at Vicksburg. He is a staunch Republican. He is the author of the now famous report to Governor Ames, in which he styled the affair a riot, and the taxpayers a mob, language that was more severe than he would employ if it was to do over again. But allowances must be made for the excitement of such scenes. I have great confidence in Judge Brown, for I know he is at heart the sincere friend and benefactor of the negroes. Judge Brown left Vicksburg during the troubles, but I do not infer from what he says that he came away because he feared violence. I sought him out at the capitol this morning and had a long conversation with him. He utterly condemns the use of force and violence to reach a wrong that might be reached through the courts. But he says Crosby's bond was insufficient and the citizens had a perfect right to look into the matter, only they should have pursued legal means. He thinks their resort to arms was hasty and ill-advised. Yet he says most emphatically their grievances were great, and they have been borne patiently and long. 'Unquestionably, sir, the negroes of Warren County have done little in a political way since they were voters than to put rascals in office over the taxpayers. The men they have elected are, with few exceptions, black thieves and rascals.' The judge blames Crosby bitterly for refusing to give new bond, and for hurrying off to Jackson and coming back with that violent and incendiary appeal to the negroes to come to his aid. 'Immediately,' he said, 'all our hopes of compromise and peace fell to the ground.'

"'Well, judge,' I said, 'what do you think of the action of the citizens in repelling by force the attack of the negroes, and driving them off?'

"'They did exactly right,' he replied. 'They did wrong in killing so many negroes, but right in driving them back. Rather than let them in the city, I would have shouldered my shot-gun and gone out and fought with the rest. When it comes to that, no matter how, every white man is found shoulder to shoulder.'

"'Judge Brown,' said I, 'had not Sheriff Crosby a clear and undoubted right to summon a posse to reinstate himself, or to enforce the law in any particular?'

"'Certainly there is nothing clearer in our code. It is not only his right. but made his duty.'

"'Very well. Now suppose he had summoned white men as his posse, what would have happened?'

"'Not one would have obeyed him,' replied the judge, with emphasis.

"'Well, then, if he was to enforce the law, what could he do but summon negroes?' I asked.

"The judge smiled and then looked very serious. 'You touch us on a point,' he said, 'that puzzles us all. The plain truth is, a Republican sheriff in this State is utterly powerless to enforce the law in any emergency

like this. Nothing illustrates it better than this case of Crosby's. He might summon white men forever, and he could not get one to come to his aid. And if he called out negroes they would be shot down.'

"Could anything more clearly set forth the utter weakness of the Southern negro governments? Here is a staunch Republican judge whose life has been threatened by the whites, who says he would have marched out, gun in hand, to prevent a sheriff's posse from entering the county seat. Because the posse were negroes, and their entrance would have been followed by the gravest results. How strange this! What a commentary on the Southern governments!

"I have had a long conversation with Governor Ames, and it is plain that he is puzzled. That his government has been openly defiled by the white men of Vicksburg is plain. It is one of the very plain things in the whole transaction. The position of Governor Ames is not enviable. His government is openly defied and he has nothing with which to suppress the rebellion but negro militia. To put them in the field would be a war of races. The result of such a conflict would be the utter extermination of the negro militia. In his dilemma Governor Ames has called the legislature together, and they meet in extraordinary session to-morrow. The governor will, I think, lay the whole matter before them without making any specific recommendation. It will then be for them to take action. I see no course open but to let the rebellion slide, and confess the inability of the governor to cope with it, or call upon the government for Federal troops. To bring out the negro militia will never do, and I think this is well understood by the State officials.

"The Vicksburgers are coming in, and, as I write, I hear their loud voices in the hallway. They have come over, you know, to see what the State government will do with them. They laugh defiance in its face."

H. V. R. in another letter gave valuable testimony as follows:

"In judging of this complication you should keep in mind how long and patiently the whites of Vicksburg and Warren County have borne the insolence and robbery of negro rule. As Col. G. Gordon Adam (a Republican who has lived here for ten years, and an ex-Federal soldier) said to me this morning: 'These white people have borne more than I thought any people on God's earth would stand. The war completely crushed the spirit out of them, or they would have risen in their wrath long ago. They have been robbed and plundered by a lot of ignorant negro official thieves, until it was narrowed down almost to a question of confiscation or fight. You have no idea how unutterably wretched has been the government under which we have lived here. Fraudulent certificates have been issued, and we don't know how much the county does owe. Taxes have increased year after year, and nothing to show for it. The negro officials, one and all, from top to bottom, are ignorant, corrupt and unfit to hold an office. My God, the whites have borne and borne until forbearance ceased to be a virtue, and almost became crime. They rose in their might and arrested their officials, and the wonder to me is they did not do it long ago. No people on earth but those whose spirits had been crushed by war would have submitted so long. The white league was justified in what they did, only they could have got along by killing less negroes. But wrought up as they were, so infuriated, that wonder is they did not kill more when the conflict came. I am a Republican and have ever been one, but there is no difference here between white Republicans and Democrats in regard to the evils of negro rule. But this county is

negro by four to one, and how a continuance of negro rule is to be avoided I do not see. I am so discouraged about it that any of these citizens may set a value on my property here that they consider just and reasonable and I will take one-half what they think it to be worth, and leave. I like the white people here; they treat me well, and there are few lawyers in the State who have a better practice. But I want to sell out and leave. The negroes have got in a political groove that will ruin any country in which they have a majority at least until they learn better. They will not vote for a decent white man for office. They pick out negroes, and about the worst specimens they can find. You cannot do anything with them by argument. In ten years they may learn better, but until that time arrives I prefer to live elsewhere.' All (white) Republicans I have met here talk the same way about negro rule. It is plain to me after a protracted and varied experience in the South, that negroes are utterly unfit to be the ruling class in any community. Their rule means ruin.'

H. V. R."

The legislature assembled as officially proclaimed December 17th, and the members were greeted with a message from the governor replete with crocodile tears, Peckniff piety, hypocritical pretense, and impotent rage and blood thirst. It recited "the deep regret and sorrow but the overpowering sense of duty," of the call—"regret that the high hopes entertained for the continuance of peace and contentment among the people seem about to be dispelled in a moment which must shake our society to its very foundation, arousing prejudices, discord, and distrust to be followed by heavy burdens inevitably, and possibly the utter prostration of every interest in the State—sorrow that any number of our citizens could find it in their hearts to deprive by violence their neighbors and fellow-citizens of their political rights. With an overpowering sense of duty because a portion of our territory is under the control of insurgents and because I have not the power under existing laws to suppress such insurrections." This exordium was followed by a labored argument falsely aiming to place the white population of Vicksburg and Warren County in the attitude of lawless and turbulent "insurgents" who had set up a reign of terror for "real or pretended cause"; where "legal remedy was ample." Enlightened by recent events, the governor no longer claimed to be "placid," under the prospects of a race conflict. He said:

"If the people of the State insist on making a race issue, then is our condition deplorable indeed."

Plainly all fight had been taken out of Mississippi's carpet-

bag chief executive. His message confessed his pitiful impotency and thus appealed for extrication from his dilemma:

"The governor has no well organized or disciplined militia, not a single policeman or detective at his command. And even were the men and material in abundance he has not a dollar to expend for such a purpose. Under such circumstances I have called you together. * * * And I recommend that you take such steps as will overthrow the insurrection in Warren County and prevent in future similar occurrences there and elsewhere."

The "steps" desired for overthrowing "the insurrection" were understood to be a State military force to be used on Vicksburg by the governor and which if repulsed would force the president to intervene with bayonets to uphold his tottering government. He had just witnessed Louisiana placed under bayonet rule, and wished the same brutal policy applied to Mississippi. The legislature did not meet the governor's request for vesting him with power to put down the insurrection—the members were not so besotted as to raise any such whirlwind. At the close of a long string of whereases it was resolved that "the president be called and urgently requested by use of the military power to suppress domestic violence and restore peace and order in the State." The Democratic minority presented a lengthy report contradicting the majority application for troops. After debate and bitter opposition the majority report was adopted. A committee was appointed to investigate the riot. Then after repealing the law for special elections for official vacancies, the governor was empowered to fill them by appointment. Claiming that such repeal could not invalidate an election already ordered, for sheriff and circuit clerk, it was disregarded in Warren County, and white citizens were chosen for those offices.

December 21st the president took cognizance of matters in Vicksburg, through a proclamation based on the version of the riot laid before him by the resolution of the legislature. And the "disorderly and turbulent citizens" were commanded "to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective homes within five days, and to refrain from forcible resistance to the laws and submit themselves to the lawful authorities of the country and State."

As the persons so ordered had long since dispersed and retired, and as there was no existing conflict with the authorities, the proclamation was not immediately impressive.

While admonished, perhaps, to a less ready resort to the military by a change in sentiment which had resulted in the election of a Democratic house, President Grant was none the less explicit in declaring, in his message, that he would "enforce the laws and the provisions of the constitution, including the recent amendments with vigor, but with regret that they should have added to executive duties or powers." He coupled reproach of the whites for "acts of violence and intimidation, intolerant and criminal proceedings, and murders to spread terror," with words of sympathy in "their prostrate condition acknowledging that in some instances they had most trying governments to live under." His sympathy" and "acknowledgments" were hollow and without meaning. It was but a short while before he was again using the military to uphold usurpation and scoundrelism in Louisiana and Warren County, Mississippi; and urging congress to oust the lawfully chosen and duly installed governor of Arkansas.

Congress acted contemporaneously with the proclamation of the chief executive, by appointing a committee of investigation. The two committees, the congressional and the legislative arrived in Vicksburg December 30th; to take riot testimony. The white citizens in control of Warren County affairs appointed a committee to meet the congressional visitors and escort them to their quarters. Counsel was appointed to appear before the legislative committee, to confront their accusers and examine all witnesses who may testify against them. The lawyers appointed were G. Gordon Adam, U. M. Young, L. W. Magruder, Thos. C. Catchings, Warren Cowan, and E. D. Clark. The majority of the legislative committee declined to accede to the demand for permission to appear as stated. The denial was met by a spirited protest which closed as follows:

"Your course in sitting with closed doors, and in denying the rignt of the people we represent to be present by counsel is calculated to suppress the truth and encourage perjury and fraud, and virtually constitutes your committee a secret inquisitorial commission, organized to justify a judgment already recorded."

While Warren County was the center of State political turmoil at this period, other counties and towns contributed to the symptoms of discontent pointing to revolution. Meridian and Columbus, the two largest cities in east Mississippi, held municipal elections, and chose Democratic mayors. In Columbus, where the negroes were led by the notorious "Buzzard" Eggleston, the contest was spirited almost to the extent of armed strife. But the white people were thoroughly aroused, and consequently irresistible. The determination to call a halt on the corrupt administration of State and county affairs was echoing throughout Mississippi. It was manifested in county meetings being held toward the close of 1874, to appoint delegates to the pending taxpayers' convention at Jackson.

It was under such symptoms of an approaching revolution that the legislature met in regular session. Harking back to the Warren County troubles the governor closed his message thus:

"It cannot be possible that the people of the State will permit a few lawless violent men to inflame the mind of a community, appealing to class or race prejudice, and then by force overthrow the regularly constituted authorities. To prevent such acts and to punish those who have participated in them the whole power of the State should be invoked. The freedom of a race is at stake and no act should be left undone to assert the majesty of the law. I recommend specifically that a State police or constabulary be organized."

There was no room for misunderstanding what this pointed to. It requested the power that had been refused, when asked by Governor Alcorn. It had been exercised in Arkansas, in Louisiana, Tennessee and the Carolinas—leaving a lasting record of bloodshed and outrage. Pursuant to his specific recommendation, on the first day of the session the design of Governor Ames was disclosed in the notice of a bill providing for a State constabulary —the notice being given by Gray, the notoriously insolent and turbulent negro senator from Washington County, and one of the governor's most trusted men.

The appointment of the brutal South-hater, Phil Sheridan, to the command of the gulf department revived the drooping courage of the carpetbag rulers of the State and moved them to desperate intent. The purpose of this assignment was signified in the following from Secretary of War Belknap, December 24th:

"*To Gen. P. H. Sheridan,* Chicago, Ill.:

"General,—The president sent for me this morning and desires me to say to you that he wishes you to visit the States of Louisiana and Mississippi, especially New Orleans and Vicksburg, and ascertain for yourself the general condition of matters in those localities. * * * What the president desires is the true condition of affairs and to receive such suggestions from you as you may deem advisable and judicious. Inclosed herewith is an order authorizing you to assume command of the military department of the South, or any portion of that division, should you see proper to do so. * * * Of course you can take with you such members of your staff as you wish, and it is best that the trip should appear to be one of pleasure as much as business, as the fact of your mere presence in the localities referred to will have, it is presumed, a beneficial effect. * * * "

It did not take Sheridan long to reach conclusions, and formulate suggestions for the president and congress. The Louisiana legislature chosen at the preceding November election met in New Orleans on Monday, January 4th. After organization through a Democratic majority a squad of soldiers entered the hall and ejected certain members whose seats were contested, thus creating a Republican majority and changing the organization effected. On the next day General Sheridan, proud of his achievement and greedy for more laurels, addressed the following communication to the Secretary of War:

"I think the terrorism existing in Louisiana, Mississippi and Arkansas could be entirely removed and confidence and fair dealing established by the arrest and trial of the ring leaders of the armed white leaguers. If congress would pass a bill declaring them banditti they could be tried by military commission. The leaders of this banditti who murdered men here on the 4th of last September, and also more recently at Vicksburg, Mississippi, should in justice to law and order, and the peace and prosperity of this Southern part of the country, be punished. It is possible if the president could issue a proclamation declaring them banditti that no further action need be taken, except that which would devolve upon me.

"P. H. SHERIDAN,
"Lieutenant-General."

A series of such bulletins passed from Sheridan to the war department. His vindictive fulminations, joined with the expulsion of Democratic officials and members of the legislature from the Louisiana capitol by force of arms, caused intense feeling throughout the North. The press, even the most partisan, teemed with denunciations of Sheridan and demands upon the president for his recall. At public meetings resolutions to like effect were adopted. But while the president did not

issue "the banditti" proclamation as asked by Sheridan, that officer was upheld in his acts. On the same day an application to the president for troops by Governor Ames was thus answered:

"*To Governor A. Ames:* I have to-night assumed control over the department of the gulf. A company of troops will be sent to Vicksburg to-morrow.

"P. H. SHERIDAN,
"*Lieut.-General U. S. A.*"

The coming of the troops to Vicksburg was looked upon with complacency if not approval by Sheridan's "banditti." Their arrival was thus announced in the *Herald:*

"Company B of the third infantry arrived yesterday and are temporarily quartered in the old marine hospital, Maj. George E. Head in command. The officers of this company made many friends while quartered in Monroe, and we doubt not will do the same in the Hill City."

Though the legislature had repealed the law providing for special elections to fill vacancies, one was held as called, December 31, for sheriff and tax collector. Only white voters participated, and Capt. A. J. Flanagan was chosen.

The congressional committee began taking testimony January 1, 1875. It summoned a large number of witnesses, both white and black, and the story of the riot was told from every point of view. The membership of the committee was Congressman Conger, of Michigan; Hurlburt, of Illinois; Williams, of Iowa; Speer, of Pennsylvania, and O'Brien, of Maryland. It held sessions in the courthouse at Vicksburg daily, until the 13th, when testimony was taken in Jackson. While partisanship was manifested throughout there was no material discrepancy as to the facts, or their antecedent causes and circumstances. The statements of three prominent white Republicans and ex-Union soldiers are cited for the light they shed on the situation. Charles E. Furlong, senator from Warren County, said:

"I hold a commission as brigadier-general of militia, issued January 20, 1874, by Governor Powers. I have here an order issued to me by Governor Ames as commander-in-chief. The order required me to turn over certain arms and ammunition to Adjutant-General Packer. I had already, in compliance with previous orders distributed the arms to an organized company of militia. I think the orders to turn the arms over to General Packer was for the purpose of disarming the whites previous to the city election."

Judge Frederic Speed, a Republican and ex-Union soldier, testified:

"I think the attack on Vicksburg was ordered by Ames to create the impression that the people would slaughter negroes at every opportunity. I have heard Governor Ames declare he would not live in the State if given the whole of it. I believe the reason he has given in asking Sheridan for troops is false. These troops are here for political effect."

Judge George F. Brown's testimony told of the riot as prompted from behind the scenes. He said:

"I believed if Crosby summoned a posse it would lead to bloodshed, and I worked against it. I told Colonel Packer and Captain Lee, Governor Ames' representatives, when they first arrived in Vicksburg, not under any circumstances to summon a posse because there would be trouble."

In reply to a question Judge Brown contradicted that portion of Governor Ames' statement to the president, that "armed bodies of men prevented the legal officers of the county from exercising the duties of their office."

The following telegrams were read before the committee. They indisputably record the direct responsibility of Governor Ames, for the bloodshed at Vicksburg:

"JACKSON, MISS., Dec. 4th.

"Judge Geo. F. Brown,—Your communication of the 2nd inst. received. I have ordered Capt. P. C. Hall to aid Sheriff Crosby in regaining possession of his office and in restoring peace. Every effort will be made to restore the supremacy of the law. Should I fail I will appeal to a stronger power.

"ADELBERT AMES."

"JACKSON, Dec. 4.

"Capt. P. C. Hall, care Sheriff,—Co-operate with your militia company with Sheriff Crosby in his efforts to regain possession of his office and suppress the riotous mob in Vicksburg.

"By order of the governor.

"A. G. PACKER,
"Adjutant-General."

Packer sent a like telegram to Crosby—that Hall had been ordered to co-operate with his company. In his testimony he thus revealed Ames' plan:

"I went to Vicksburg upon orders of Governor Ames in my official

capacity. The governor had information of the state of affairs there from Crosby in person and from a letter from Judge Brown. I arrived in Vicksburg Saturday, the 5th, and went to see Judges Brown and Hill. My orders were to use the militia, if necessary, to reinstate Crosby. I was instructed to confer with Captain Hall because he was the only person available who could be depended on. His men are all colored. It was considered that his company was the only one to be depended on."

On the advice of Judges Brown and Hill the militia was not called out. And after coming in actual contact with the state of affairs, General Packer was astounded to learn that Crosby had summoned a posse. He testified that he rode until two or three o'clock in the morning, dispatching messengers to recall the posse summons. But the revelation of the powder magazine underlying the situation came too late. The lid of Pandora's box had been lifted, and the curses had blown far and wide. General Packer testified:

"I was told that I might not get out of town alive. I thought my life in danger; I came out to Jackson that evening."

The *New York Tribune* thus placed the burthen of guilt upon the governor:

"If the Mississippi investigation has established anything beyond doubt, it is that the bloodshed in Vicksburg was largely due to the injudicious advice given to the arrested sheriff and his armed followers by Governor Ames."

In the account of the Jackson conference given the committee by Sheriff Crosby he said he "received verbal instructions that he had the right to summon a posse in the county to recover his office." While this account does not sustain Governor Ames, it is sustained by all the circumstances and the facts of the condition. Crosby said that he "notified Judge Brown that he could not get his office peaceably. Crosby said further:

"The judge seemed to be at a loss what he should do. He was asked about summoning a posse of the best citizens, but assured Judge Brown they would not serve. He then instructed Owens and Stith to summon the posse, but said nothing about arms. He told General Packer and Colonel Lee he would summon a posse. They doubted the policy of doing so, but this was all he could do. Packer then said if the posse could not succeed he would use the militia of the county, which was agreed to. Sunday night he consulted with Packer, Lee and Hall and concluded to advise the negroes not to come in. Five men were employed and urged out to warn them not to come."

Governor Ames thus related the Jackson end of the riot:

"Peter Crosby came to Jackson and reported that he was forced to resign through fear of death. I informed him that he was a peace officer of the county and ought to take every legal and peaceable measure to regain his office. The attorney-general was present at the conference. My advice was in conformity to his opinion. I indicated to Crosby, in substance, that it was his duty to call upon a posse and I insisted that he should go back and reinstate himself with a posse, promising to give him what State assistance I could. The intention was that he should call upon the citizens of the city as a posse, and I instructed my adjutant-general to co-operate with him through the only militia body that I had any confidence in. I was sorry that I had not a regiment to reinstate him. I did not advise Crosby to call upon the citizens from the county. I was informed Saturday of Crosby's card. I did not see a copy of it until Monday. I would say of that card that while I was not cognizant of the same, the only mistake he made in calling on the people from the county was that he did it surreptitiously, and did not place himself at the head of the posse. * * * I ordered Captain Hall to co-operate with Crosby because I feared the posse would not act. I assumed that he and his men were the only men connected with the Vicksburg militia whom I could trust."

The governor's testimony closed the investigation.

January 15th the congressional committee finished its work and returned to Washington. On the 18th the military appeared on the scene and annulled the Warren County special election. The manner of the action was thus told in the *Herald* of January 19th:

"The chancery court met yesterday morning at 10:30 o'clock, Judge Edwin Hill presiding. As the chancellor entered he remarked: 'We have a new sheriff I see.' 'Yes,' replied Attorney Upton Young, 'didn't you know he was coming,' alluding to the soldier who was walking his beat in front of the sheriff's office. 'Well, I heard he was to come,' remarked the chancellor, as he took his seat. At this juncture Major George E. Head, commanding the Federal troops, accompanied by Lieutenant Rowe, entered. Judge Hill stated that before hearing from Major Head he would open court, which was done. Major Head then informed Judge Hill that he had removed Mr. Flanagan from the sheriff's office and taken possession of the same by order of General Emory. He asked direction as to whom he should turn over the property as he wanted to withdraw the guard as soon as convenient, and the appointment was made.' A lengthy colloquy ensued between the judge and Major Head in which members of the bar took part. Earnest and spirited protests were made against the proceeding. But citations of law and appeals to the constitutional rights and guarantees were of no avail."

In the end, yielding to inexorable force, the chancellor appointed W. H. McGee, chief deputy of Crosby during the period of courthouse corruption which had finally provoked the tax-

payers to revolt, sheriff *ad interim.* The next day, however, Crosby reappeared as a claimant, and with a bond approved by the board of supervisors, supplanted McGee, who had failed to make a bond. In awarding the office to Crosby, Circuit Judge George F. Brown, overtopped the height of the occasion. He declared that "our people have less respect for personal rights and principles of liberty than the English of two hundred years ago. For they, upon the bloody field of Runnymede assembled in 1713 and exacted from George III that bulwark of all our liberties, the Great Magna Charter." The negroization of the county offices effected by the election of 1873, which was swept away by the white uprising in December, 1874, was now renewed. Encouraged by the apparent restoration of the status quo anteriot, the notorious Chancery Clerk Davenport emerged from hiding and resumed control of his office; to soon find his way in jail for warrants forgeries. Ames was still faithful to the ring. He appointed McGee superintendent of education, under circumstances thus stated in *The Herald* of February 3, 1875:

"W. H. McGee has received the appointment of superintendent of education for this county and the appointment now goes to the senate for confirmation. The objections to Superintendent Bent come through the chief warrant forger, State Superintendent Cardoza, and the Wash Walton influence. We do not know that we have any peculiar 'love' for Mr. Bent. But he afforded no helmet to the Cardoza infamy. His crimes made up a pyramid of iniquity that even the Republican standard of Bent could not stomach. This was probably the indictment against Bent, and it remains with the senate to reject or sustain it."

The senate, less obdurate against the admonition of events, rejected the McGee appointment.

Warren County continued the focus of observation of the activity and the abomination of Mississippi carpetbag rule. The cimmerian blackness that hung over the courthouse is thus recorded in *The Herald* files, in the paper of March 14th, when the first court after the revolt, assembled:

"Judge Brown adjourned court this morning. The grand jury is composed of nine blacks and eight whites. Martin Keary foreman. The bailiffs are all colored but one, and as follows: A. S. Butcher, Calvin Chavis, Levi Moore, Howard Singleton, W. W. Edwards, W. H. McGee (white) and Pleasant Miller."

While Crosby had been restored to the sheriffalty, the tax

collectorship, which was vested in the sheriff *ex officio,* remained vacant; as he could not, under a recent resolution of the white taxpayers, make the bond. Then one J. P. Gilmer, an East Mississippi carpetbagger of note, appeared on the scene under an agreement to make Crosby's bond as tax collector, and run the office in the negro's name. And under the agreement the office was conducted for a while. When there was a clash Crosby sought to rid his office of Gilmer and was severely wounded by a bullet fired from concealment. Gilmer was arrested for the attempted assassination, but was never brought to trial. He disappeared, and Crosby held his office through a representative white citizen and property owner in peace for the few remaining months of his term.

While the curtain was rung down on the Vicksburg uprising, leaving things much as they were before on the surface, underneath was a lesson that was not lost on the State, or the South. The spectacle of a brave band of white men rising up in successful defiance of the hosts of ignorance and corruption—backed up by both the State and the Federal military powers, in risk of consequences which until then cowed the most courageous—all of the circumstances considered, was sublime in its heroism. As a daring challenge of fate, the revolt of the Vicksburgers takes pre-eminence in the history of reconstruction. Its success made the work of final relief, not long delayed, far easier.

This use of the military in the local affairs of Vicksburg in the displacement of an official chosen to fill a vacancy in the most important office of a county, drew forth a fresh storm of censure in the North. The following is from a comment in the *New York Herald:*

"The military interference at Vicksburg has an exceedingly ugly look, after the apologetic disclosures put forth in the president's message. After he had attempted to screen the Louisiana interference behind the assertion that army officers are not lawyers, thereby making an implied admission that they had overstepped legal limits, they would naturally refrain from taking any similar step on their own judgment and await commands from headquarters before venturing to act. It is therefore important to know by whose orders the troops acted at Vicksburg. Assuredly General Emory would not have dared, without a specific command, to disregard the message, and make a practical denial of its sincerity. It is incredible that the orders in the Vicksburg case did not emanate from Washington. Nobody

but the president himself would have dared to thus stamp the message as a false disclaimer and a hollow apology."

This event had the following comment from the *New York Herald:*

"The sincerity of the president's Louisiana message is made dubious by his action yesterday in Vicksburg. At the special election for sheriff December 21st one Flanagan claimed the majority. Governor Ames applied for troops to prevent a possible disturbance, and yesterday by the authority of the president, acting through General Emory, Captain Head, of the 3rd U. S. infantry, went to the courthouse and expelled Flanagan by military force. So we see the army is expected not only to determine who shall be governors and who are entitled to seats as legislators, but who shall be city and county officers. The president claims the right to seat a sheriff. Such interference will surely be condemned by the country and throws new discredit on the administration."

The *New York Tribune* said:

"In his message reference to Louisiana affairs, the president said 'I can conceive of no case not involving rebellion or insurrection where such interference by the general government can be justified or ought to be permitted.' Was there rebellion or insurrection in Vicksburg yesterday? We know of none unless it was rebellion against the constitution by the president himself.

The war department reports bore ample evidence that General Emory had no relish for serving the reconstruction governments of Louisiana and Mississippi. On December 27, 1874, he forwarded a report from Col. Henry A. Morrow, with a significant endorsement. That official had been assigned to investigate certain charges lodged against the citizens of North Louisiana by Major Lewis Merrill—a South-hating tool of tyranny, who had made a record of infamy, in Missouri as a murderer of prisoners; and in South Carolina in the brutal enforcement of the Ku Klux law. He was colonel of a Nebraska cavalry band during the war. His record was described by the *Omaha Herald* as "a soldier who had never been in battle, and who was as corrupt as he was cowardly." As cadet at West Point he won the sobriquet of "Dog Merrill." And yet the war department took the side of this wretch against General Emory, who had strongly disapproved of his malevolent course toward citizens of Shreveport. Colonel Morrow's report is quoted:

"There is not the slightest disposition to oppose the Federal government. But that there was no disguising the fact of bitter personal and

political feeling by nineteen-twentieths of the white people for the protection the Federal power afforded the State government which has not the respect or confidence of any portion of the community and which cannot maintain itself a single hour without that protection, and even with it the State authorities will not be able to collect taxes and administer the functions of government."

In forwarding this report General Emory stated:

"The condition which had been very precarious for two years is daily growing worse. The mission of the army to keep the peace without the power of removing the causes which disturb it has, I think, been carried as far as practicable, and I therefore respectfully recommend that, if it can be done, the powers of the military commander be greatly increased, or that some other measures be resorted to for obtaining the desired end."

This report and recommendation, shedding such an ominous light upon political conditions in the department of the Gulf, and especially Louisiana, came under the review of Gen. W. T. Sherman. In forwarding it to the secretary of war that official was urged by the general of the army, "to submit it to the president for his personal perusal." The impression made on President Grant was one of distrust of General Emory; shown in the order for General Sheridan to go to Louisiana "to assume the command if in his opinion necessary."

The taxpayers' convention met as called, in Jackson, January 4, 1875. It was the first conventional gathering of the white people since the disbandment of the Democratic organization at Meridian in 1873. The depression from an apparently incurable condition, and the loss of organization, was felt in the failure of a number of the counties to send delegates. But the environments under which the popular representatives were surrounded, the important and impressive duties demanded, brought the best to the front. There was no expectation of personal reward, no prompting of political ambition. The public good was the sole inspiration of a gathering destined to prove memorable, for launching the movement to result in the final overthrow of alien government and the complete restoration of the rule of home people. Gen. W. S. Featherston, of Marshall County, a Confederate brigadier and an antebellum congressman, was chosen to preside over the convention. Delegates from fifty-two counties were registered. A large committee on resolutions was appointed,

which selected for its chairman George L. Potter, of Hinds County. On this committee were such men as ex-Senator A. G. Brown, ex-Congressmen Reuben Davis and O. R. Singleton, Judge J. W. C. Watson, Col. W. A. Percy, Col. W. H. McCardle and Gen. J. Z. George. The following resolutions were reported and unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved,* That the president of this convention appoint a committee consisting of three citizens for and residing in each congressional district of this State, whose duty it shall be to prepare and issue, at as early a day as practicable, an address to the people of the United States, setting forth such trustworthy and indisputable statistics and information as shall be deemed right and proper to a just and impartial conclusion respecting the material interests and general prosperity of the State.

"*Resolved,* That the chairman of said committee appoint a secretary and treasurer, residing in the city of Jackson, whose duty it shall be to conduct such correspondence as may be devolved on him by the chairman in the premises, and also to receive and disburse such funds as may be contributed towards the execution of the purposes for which the committee, by first resolution, was appointed.

"*Resolved,* That to the end of aiding our fellow-citizens of our common country towards the attainment of a true knowledge of the condition of our affairs and of whatever effects the general prosperity and happiness of the people of Mississippi, it is hereby directed that copies of said address be most respectfully placed in the hands of his excellency, the President of the United States, of each head of the departments of government at Washington, of each member of congress, of the governor of each State, and of the leading journals of the chief cities of the Union.

"*Resolved,* That a committee of five be appointed by this convention to prepare a plan of organization for Taxpayers' Leagues in every county in the State, and promulgate the same through the press, and for the consolidation of said county organizations into a State organization.

"*Resolved,* That it is the sense of this convention that the taxpayers of each county should be so organized as to secure thorough concert of action in all movements looking to a reduction of taxes, and the exposure of all peculations and frauds by public officers, and that a committee should be appointed in each county whose duty it shall be to investigate and keep under constant watch the official acts of all county officers.

"*Resolved,* That the chairman of this convention appoint a committee of five, whose duty it shall be to confer with the governor and the legislature in reference to the reforms recommended by this convention, and to assist in preparing bills to be presented to the legislature."

The following constituted the committee to prepare the address of the convention to the people of the United States:

From the city of Jackson—Wiley P. Harris, chairman; E. Barksdale, George L. Potter.

First Congressional District—D. B. Wright, H. M. Street, J. H. Howry.

Second Congressional District—H. H. Chalmers, E. C. Walthall, H. W. Walter.

Third Congressional District—J. T. Harrison, Reuben Davis, H. L. Jarnagin.

Fourth Congressional District—J. A. P. Campbell, W. A. Percy, William R. Miles.

Fifth Congressional District—H. Musgrove, Robert Lowry, B. G. Humphreys.

Sixth Congressional District—Charles Clark, Albert G. Brown, R. C. Sheppard.

The following composed the committee upon organization of taxpayers leagues:

H. M. Street, E. Barksdale, T. M. Griffin, Hy. Taylor and W. C. Falkner.

To present the convention's memorial of relief to the governor and the legislature the committee was as follows:

W. L. Nugent, T. J. Wharton, C. E. Hooker, W. B. Johnson and William Palmer.

The memorial of grievances read, in part, as follows:

"The taxpayers of Mississippi, assembled by delegates in convention, respectfully show:

"That by reason of the general poverty of the people, and the greatly depressed values of all property, and especially of our great staple, the present rate of taxation is an intolerable burden and much beyond their ability to pay.

"To say nothing of the large expenditures for common schools, the present rate of public expenditure greatly exceeds the amounts deemed sufficient in former days of abounding wealth. To-day the masses of our people are very poor, and they naturally feel, as they may well demand, that all public expenditures should be greatly reduced and limited by the strictest rules of economy to the plain Republican system made necessary by their impoverished condition.

"It was hoped by many that a period of great prosperity would follow the reorganization of the State, and provision was accordingly made for a less costly government; but the hope has given place to despair. Every day the people have grown poorer; lands have diminished in value; wages have grown less, and all industries have become more and more paralyzed. It is daily harder and harder for the people even to live; and many hearts are saddened to-day, burdened with dread that the little home, only shelter for wife and children, shall be sold away by the taxgatherers.

"These terrible truths show that the present rate of exorbitant expenditures must cease, or the means of the people to pay will soon be utterly exhausted and their government will be disorganized. A wise statesman will be careful to consider the wants of the people and studious to devise and prompt to apply needful remedies, and this is what we respectfully ask from the representatives of the people. We are satisfied that public expenditures can be very largely reduced without impairing the efficiency of the public service.

"It should not be forgotten that the Southern people in their poverty

have now to bear many burdens unknown to them in former times. The public debt of the United States is enormous, and we all contribute, individually it may be, to pay the increased Federal expenditures. We may never see the taxgatherer, but we pay the taxes—they make part of the price of the goods we buy. In addition to this, we have the large expense of our common school system. These large items may doubtless be greatly diminished by a wise economy, and the people may bear them, thus limited, as necessary burdens; but the fact that with strict economy such burdens may continue to be great, is a strong reason for rigid economy of administration wherever it is possible.

"It must be remembered that the people of Mississippi suffer not only from the enormous burdens of needless State expenditures, but also from gross waste and extravagance of boards of supervisors; added to these are the heavy local burdens that fall upon the inhabitants of cities and towns and the unhappy people of the levee districts. To show the extraordinary and rapid increase of taxation imposed on this impoverished people, we will cite these particulars, viz.:

"In 1869 the State levy was 10 cents on the hundred dollars of assessed value of lands.

For the year 1871 it was four times as great. For 1872 it was eight and a half times as great. For the year 1873 it was twelve and a half times as great. For the year 1874 it was fourteen times as great as it was in 1869. The tax levy of 1874 was the largest State tax ever levied in Mississippi, and to-day the people are poorer than ever before.

"It is true that now, because of diminished property and depressed values, the percentage of taxation must be increased to the amount of revenue levied in former times; but what we complain of is that the aggregate amount of taxes levied on us in our poverty greatly exceeds the amount levied in our prosperous days. The enormity of this great increase in the percentage will become more plain if we consider the fact that our present assessments very greatly exceed the market values of the property assessed.

"Thus as the people became poorer are their tax burdens increased! In many cases the increase in county levies, in the same period, has been still greater.

"But this is not all. A careful estimate shows that during those years of increasing and most extravagant tax levies, the public debt was increased on an average annually of over $664,000, a sum of itself sufficient to defray the entire expenses of the government economically administered. That is, the State spent on an average this large sum each year, over and above the amount collected on those monstrous tax levies! What may be the excess in 1874 is not revealed. All that we know is that many of the very large appropriations for the year were sometime since exhausted.

"The like extraordinary results have followed the operations of the boards of supervisors, at least in many of the counties. Whether these facts prove a lack of economy in administration, or are to be regarded as sad proofs of the rapid exhaustion of the means of the people and their consequent inability to pay, they are painful to contemplate.

"This excessive rate of expenditure would constrain even a prosperous people to cry aloud for retrenchment and reform. It is corrupting in effect, and altogether evil in its results. But if none of these things existed we should be constrained by still other facts to make this appeal to your honorable body.

"The present year has been most disastrous to all engaged in agriculture, and consequently to all other pursuits. If all the crops raised in the State this year were sold at present market value, the proceeds of the

sales thereof would not, as many estimate, pay the cost of production and the taxes. In many counties the result was still more disastrous, the crops being an almost total failure. It is a sad truth that in some parts of the State many of our people are beginning to suffer for want of food, and very many more are restricted in their poverty to a very few of the necessaries of life. These restrictions fall heaviest at present on the very large class of our poor citizens; but all classes suffer more or less from this common calamity, and the year of their probation of want and suffering is but just begun.

"Presented in these several views of the sad condition of the people of Mississippi, our present appeal amounts to this, shall the few officials, the mere servants of the people, be permitted to fatten and grow richer, whilst the people grow poorer and starve? Shall these public servants be privileged to enjoy an extravagant waste of the money of the people, to the destruction of the property of the State, or will the legislature interpose immediately, and by a vigorous system of wise reform enforce rigid economy of expenditure in all departments of the government, legislative, executive and judicial, in counties, cities and towns and districts? Let all superfluities be abolished. Let every supernumerary be discharged. Let every dollar as far as possible be saved to the suffering people. For the present, and until the State has become rich and prosperous, let all salaries and public expenditures be graded not according to the merits and capacities of officials, but be reduced and graded to the lowest possible scale compatible with the efficiency of most rigid economy administration suited to the extreme poverty of the people.

"Throughout the whole State the outcry against this oppression of excessive taxation and still greater waste of expenditure becomes louder and deeper every day, and it comes increasing in volume and significant emphasis of tone and expression from citizens of all classes and conditions. All fear the approaching ruin, and all suffer from this common oppression—the difference being only in degree."

To this general statement of grievances there was appended a lengthy bill of particulars—specific recommendations for curative legislation.

Washington County sent a large delegation to the Jackson convention—the largest of any except Hinds. That there was an impelling cause, and that the above statement of grievances was not overdrawn will be recognized in the following from the *Greenville Times* of January 2, 1875:

"October 17th last we published a statement showing the rate of taxation, and the increase in the past nine years, in the counties of Boliver, Washington and Issaquena. The facts shown in that statement were the inspiration of the taxpayers league, and as the interest in the subject of taxation has steadily increased; and that our delegates to Jackson may be supplied with authoritative data of the condition of this locality, the said article is republished:

" 'Up to 1871, civil government replacing the military in 1870, there was recuperation in the country; as shown by the increase, through redemptions, of acres, upon which tax was paid to this date; when the weight began to crush.

"'In addition to *ad valorem* tax we pay 1 cent per pound on cotton and 15 cents per acre on land. To approximate this to an *ad valorem* basis we will state the amount of tax collected from this source and the valuation of the property upon which tax was paid in Washington County in 1873. Thus the valuation of such property was $2,374.276; this tax yielded $142,000, or about 6 per cent., in amount, of the said valuation; which amount added to the *ad valorem* tax 'totals' gives the real total. Added together for 1874 and we see that the three counties pay 10¾ per cent., in amount, of the assessed valuation of property. We have here shown the facts in relation to the rate of taxation, and that it now amounts to a system of gradual confiscation in the steady acquisition of lands by the State and levee corporations, which forfeitures are balanced by little or no redemptions, nothwithstanding the fact that the number of laborers increases year by year.

"'This showing does not tell the whole story; it does not show the debts of the counties. As evidence that we have such debt, Washington County pays 3 mills interest on her bonded debt, Bolivar 5 mills.

"'Now we wish it known that we do not prepare and publish this tax statement for the purpose of increasing existing discontent or that we have labored to conjure up a cloud without a silver lining.

"'Our object in publishing it is to afford accurate information that reforms may ensue; to which end we urge all, or whatever race or political creed, to work. We appeal to taxpayers not to lose heart through a true realization of their oppressive taxes, but to still maintain confidence in the country.

BOLIVAR COUNTY.

	Mills.
State tax 1869	1
Various county taxes	3½
Total	4½
State tax 1870	5
Various county taxes	11¼
Total	16¼
State tax 1871	4
Various county taxes	15
Total	19
State tax 1872	8½
Various county taxes	14¼
Levee construction on realty	10
Total	32¾
State tax 1873	8½
State teachers' tax	4
Various county taxes	16⅞
Levee construction on realty	2
Total	32⅜

State tax 1874	10
State teachers' tax	4
Various county taxes	16
Levee construction on realty	15
Total	45

Washington County.

State tax 1869	1
Various county taxes	2
Total	3
State tax 1870	5
Various county taxes	12
Total	17
State tax 1871	4
Various county taxes	10
Total	14
State tax 1872	8½
Various county taxes	13¾
Levee construction on realty	10
Total	32¼
State tax 1873	8½
State teachers' tax	4
Various county taxes	13½
Levee construction on realty	2
Total	28
State tax 1874	10
State teachers' tax	4
Various county taxes	13½
Levee construction on realty	15
Total	42½

Issaquena County.

State tax 1869	1
Various county taxes	1
Total	2
State tax 1870	5
Various county taxes	40
Total	45

State tax 1871	4
Various county taxes	14
Total	18
State tax 1872	8½
Various county taxes	28¾
Levee construction on realty	10
Total	47¼
State tax 1873	8½
State teachers' tax	4
Various county taxes	25
Levee construction on realty	2
Total	39½
State tax 1874	10
State teachers' tax	4
Various county taxes	16
Levee construction on realty	15
Total	45

This increase of tax has, of course, resulted in the gradual abandonment of thousands of acres of lands; it passing to the State and to the various levee corporations. To exhibit this we here append a statement of the diminished number of acres on which taxes were paid during the years 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873:

Year.	County.	Acres.
1869.	Bolivar	158,588
1870.	Bolivar	192,532
1871.	Bolivar	143,418
1872.	Bolivar	134,960
1873.	Bolivar	131,006
1869.	Washington	188,933
1870.	Washington	211,868
1871.	Washington	226,425
1872.	Washington	199,745
1873.	Washington	172,190
1869.	Issaquena	167,832
1870.	Issaquena	120,795
1871.	Issaquena	104,510
1872.	Issaquena	83,752
1873.	Issaquena	83,128

Under the policy declared by the taxpayers' association of Washington County there was a systematic "strike" on paying taxes under the assessment of 1874. And at the tax collector's sales of January, 1875, half a million acres of land, including nearly all of the cleared lands on which taxes had been previously

paid, and four-fifths of the town of Greenville, was offered for sale for taxes. Such was the power of popular sentiment, and the fidelity of the citizens to the purpose of resistance, that there was not a single bid for delinquent property. It passed to the State, with the tacit understanding that every owner would redeem his own, when the clouds cleared away. There was especial cause for the Washington County action. Not alone was the burthen of taxation grown unendurable, but the discovery was made at this period that a large, if not the largest, portion of the State tax on real estate in this and other Delta counties had, for some years, been pocketed by the tax collectors. Ever since the war, with its ruin, lands had been forfeited yearly in large bodies to either one of several levee funds of the State, or all. Such forfeitures were listed on different land rolls. Various laws governing redemptions or sales were provided. Under such a complexity of systems titles were involved in confusion worse confounded.[5] The carpetbag tax gatherers were not slow to turn such a condition to profit. In the course of years a very large proportion of the plantations were forfeited, for one tax or another. Often redemptions or sales were entered on the levee list but not on the State. All taxes were, by law, suspended on forfeited lands. But such was the chaotic state of the records that in very many cases taxes were tendered and received on lands where the taxpayer was ignorant that they were "suspended." The rascally tax collectors would then appropriate such tax amounts, leaving the lands in suspense. In Washington County this particular stealage, it was afterwards learned, was approximated at over $100,000.

In other sections of the State the tax burthen was quite as crushing as in the Delta counties, minus the levee taxes. The yearly turns of the screw are thus recorded in the *Raymond Gazette:*

"The following statement shows the tax rate in the county of Hinds, on the $1,000 of valuation, since the year 1868. In January, 1870, the negroes and radicals obtained entire possession of the board of supervisors, and have had undisputed sway ever since:

[5]See Wade's "Lands of the Liquidating Levee Board in Litigation and Legislation" in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* IX, 273-313.

1869	$ 5.75 per $1,000
1870	16.25 per $1,000
1871	16.00 per $1,000
1872	22.52 per $1,000
1873	25.00 per $1,000
1874	30.00 per $1,000

For the year 1874 the taxpayers of Warren County and Vicksburg paid over half a million dollars in State, county and city taxes.

From constituencies thus harassed and plundered by official power that was unrepresentative, irresponsible and non-responsive, the league committee carried its petition to the governor and the legislature. This was little more than a formality. All knew that so corrupted was the State political condition, that had there been the wish and the will to grant relief, the power was lacking. So deeply diseased was the body politic that it defied surgery, short of revolution. There was a show of favorable consideration of the cry of the burthen bearers—bills which came to naught were introduced. They but thinly veiled the policy which their situation dictated to the radical leaders. The bloody clash in Vicksburg, and its sequence of events disclosed to them a rising tide of popular wrath—like a flash they saw in their pathway a pitfall of destruction. Yet they could no more stand still than turn backward. Desperate as it was, forward, with the calculation of support or rescue by Federal bayonets, was their only chance. The measures of repression such a policy called for involved increase instead of diminution of taxation.

The first move in the State legislature toward such policy was on Vicksburg and Warren County, and it was as diabolic as it was thorough. The scheme of the bill introduced was to deprive the city of Vicksburg of all police power. The governor was empowered to appoint not more than three captains and four sergeants, and one hundred patrolmen, fifty for the city and fifty for the county, to be paid by a tax levied on the county. The commissioners were to be paid $3,000 for one and $2,400 for the other two. The captains were to be paid $1,800 a year, the sergeants $1,500, and the patrolmen $100. The total yearly pay roll, exclusive of consequential and incidental amounts, of this

scheme footed up $139,000. By the same bill the city court was to be administered by one of the commissioners—the mayor being deprived of all magisterial functions. The State companion piece to the Warren County bill provided for a State police force as follows: One chief of police, four captains, eight lieutenants, twenty sergeants, and three hundred and twenty privates. These officers and privates were to be appointed and enlisted by the governor and hold office subject to his power of removal. In addition to mileage they were to be paid the same salaries as the Vicksburg metropolitan police. Each officer and private was to be mounted and equipped as cavalry. The same bill empowered the governor to set aside any election, State, county or municipal, if apparent to him that such election could not be held in accordance with the laws of the State, "of which he shall be the judge."

The policy the two bills represented entirely dominated the legislative session. The State militia bill was proposed in the senate, and the scheme for a metropolitan police government, as it was styled, in the house. Both were most strenuously opposed by the Democratic members, and with them were the "scalawag" members as a rule, who did not care to burn the bridges behind them. The senate passed the bill it had in charge, January 28th. The Vicksburg bill was first sent to a special committee. It was passed in the house by a vote of 40 to 38, February 20th. On the 24th it was defeated in the senate by a vote of 21 to 10. Twenty whites and one negro, White, of Wilkinson, voted against it. Nine negroes and one white man, Ames' adjutant general, A. S. Packer, voted for it.

The contemplation of the law was as plain as it was vile. While the two bills were pending, February 14th, the *Vicksburg Herald* said:

> "Governor Ames and his party prate of economy, but he wants two millions per annum for his standing army and two hundred thousand per annum for the Warren County metropolitan police force. To meet these outlays for which Ames and his thieves are clamoring, the rate of taxation will have to be increased one hundred per cent. A day of retribution will come."

As finally passed and approved the act giving the governor the power he asked of coping with "insurrection" was a sub-

stitute for the State militia law of 1871. The militia force of each congressional district was to constitute a division of five brigades each. The quartermaster general was empowered to secure six suitable buildings, at places to be designated by the commander in chief, in which arms and ammunition were secured, should be stored. The commander in chief was invested with the power to order into active service the militia force of the State or any part thereof, and order them to any part of the State to prevent or suppress riot or insurrection, or aid the civil officers in enforcing the law. The teeth of the law was contained in the following:

"Sec. 3. Be it further enacted that the commander in chief shall have full power to organize, arm and equip an infantry force from the enrolled militia of the State of not less than two regiments of ten companies, each of maximum standard, and should the commander in chief deem it necessary he may at any time purchase and equip four or more Gattling guns and organize a corps of select officers and men by details from the infantry forces provided for in this section to send with said guns."

By section four all existing military organizations were disbanded, the commissions of all officers revoked and annulled. All State arms were called in for "redistribution in such manner, and to such persons as the commander in chief may direct."

Section three was such a provision as Governor Alcorn had failed to secure four years before. It proposed to set up in Mississippi the same instrument of murder and rapine as Holden had used in North Carolina, Brownlow in Tennessee, Clayton in Arkansas and Scott in South Carolina. Its enactment at this session of the legislature was held to be vital to the continuance of radicalism in power. The time for a trial of conclusions was plainly at hand. The approaching election was seen to be the test, and that nothing less than this section three, with the backing of the president and the army besides, would save Ames and his piratical crew from overthrow. The white people of the State saw just as clearly that the crisis was pending. The preparations for it by their enemies instead of causing consternation simply nerved their resolution to wrest the power from them.

Next to the militia law the most evil and usurpatory act of

the session was one empowering the governor to appoint the county tax collectors; offices held by the sheriffs *ex officio*. The purpose of the change was disclosed in the statement informally given out, that where sheriffs were elected who were Republicans, and of the Ames faction, they would be commissioned tax collectors; otherwise appointments would go to such partisans as the governor might select. The law not only sought to rob the white counties of essential right of home rule, it was a club in the black counties against party revolt. Above all, it gave the governor complete control of the purse strings, and of the sheriffs. The constitutionality of the act was questioned, and subsequently it was decided by the supreme court to be invalid. One of the "relief" measures was a delusive show of reduction of State taxes by shifting the cost of the judiciary and the courts upon the various counties. The total of appropriations as compared with the previous year was reduced—a reduction that was but a drop in the bucket compared with the vast increase of the contemplated cost of the military preparations. The taxpayers were further burthened by an extension of the privilege tax list beyond all precedent. It provided that "any debt or claim that may accrue to any person on account of the business on which they are taxed, who shall fail or neglect within thirty days after such license is due, to pay the same, shall be null and void; and no suit shall be maintained in any court of law or equity in this State to enforce the payment of any such claims, or a compliance with contracts in favor of any person failing to pay the privilege tax required by this act."

Among its "reform" acts the legislature passed one providing for "district revenue inspectors"; ostensibly to insure honest settlements from tax collectors. The real purpose was to make places for some of Ames' rascally hangers-on. For instance, the inspector for a group of counties in Southeast Mississippi, was John D. Werles, a notorious negro courthouse hanger-on and thief, in Washington County.

The legislature adjourned, after sitting for two months under ominous clouds, March 6th. A few days before adjournment, a resolution endorsing Sheridan's "banditti" libel on the State,

was forced through to its passage, without permitting debate. This was immediately followed by resolutions of sympathy upon the death of a member, an old citizen of the State. In paying him a tribute one who had served in the legislature with the deceased many years before, quoted from one of Moore's familiar odes. A chance gallery looker-on, a Northern visitor, was inspired to write the following aptly expressive, though sadly reminiscent, parody of the quoted poem; making frequent use of a common negro colloquialism, "done gone":

"I feel like one who treads alone,
Some banquet hall deserted;
Dark shadows fall where light hath shone—
My friend's done gone departed.

"Done gone the manly and the brave,
For whom the veil hath parted;
Done come the sycophant and slave,
The false and craven-hearted.

"Done gone the men of brain and thought,
To manage legislation;
Done come the creatures sold and bought,
For each important station.

"Done gone the men who sought to save
The land by right and reason;
Done come Phil Sheridan to rave,
Of banditti and treason."

Estrangement was fast growing up between the carpetbag and the negro officials. For policy's sake the former would have robbed judiciously and disguisedly. In the latter, greed overcame judgment. They were blind to the sure consequence of a revolt by the whites, made reckless and resistless by intolerable plunder. The dissension in the camp of the enemy appeared very plainly in the legislative session. The negro members wholly exploded the idea that without bad white leaders they would have given a better account of themselves under the test of fitness for full citizenship. When the taxpayers' petitions came up for consideration the white radicals foresaw what rejection pointed to. The negroes were scornful and derisive. They gloried in the shame of misrule. Upon a motion to reduce their extravagant compensation, every negro, save one, voted in the

negative. Every white member, save one only, voted in the affirmative. The one white exception spoke in opposition to the reduction—appealing to the wrongs suffered in slavery as a right to rob the white taxpayers. He was complimented by one of the Democrats, H. M. Street, as the only "white man he had ever known who was sorry he was not a negro."

The Democratic minority members returned to their homes with the unstinted praise of their constituents for duty well performed. All that had been possible to thwart and minimize corruption and ruinous legislation, in enlightenment of public sentiment and to arouse the people to the imperative demand for action against the Ames' government, was done. While all had been faithful all recognized the greater service of one. This was the Hon. H. M. Street, of Prentiss County, who was the recipient of a letter signed by all the Democratic house members, expressing approbation of his course, and bearing unsolicited testimony to invaluable service he had rendered the State.

"Your constant vigilance and unwearied attention to the public business, your tact in the management of questions requiring consideration, your thorough knowledge of parliamentary law have served as useful auxiliaries in dispatching public business and guarding the interests of the people. We do not exaggerate nor bestow unmerited praise in saying that we deem your continuation in this capacity as a public necessity. And we desire to express to you, in behalf of the whole State, our warmest thanks and enduring gratitude."

On the eve of final adjournment the Democratic members of the legislature fired the signal gun of the momentous and historic 1875 campaign; in a meeting March 3d, initiating the reorganization of the party. In a preamble reciting that they "had no power to act authoritatively but only as party members to make suggestions for party consideration," it was resolved that the following committee be requested to take such steps as may be necessary in their judgment to thorough organization:

J. M. Stone, Tishomingo county, chairman.
W. H. H. Tison, J. M. Allen, Lee county.
Thomas Spight, Tippah county.
R. H. Taylor, Panola county.
T. B. Graham, Scott county.
J. P. Carter, Perry county.
W. W. Thompson, Green county.
B. F. Archer, Lafayette county.

J. N. Denson, Leake county.
S. E. Rockwood, Pike county.
H. M. Street, Prentiss county.
S. M. Meek, Lowndes county.
Kinloch Falconer, W. S. Featherston, Marshall county.
W. F. Tucker, A. Y. Harper, Chickasaw county.
R. O. Reynolds, Monroe county.
A. J. McLaurin, Smith county.
Marion Smith, George L. Potter, R. L. Saunders, Hinds county.
D. W. Hurst, Pike county.
W. H. McCardle, U. M. Young, Warren county.
J. B. Dunn, Choctaw county.
J. A. P. Campbell, Madison county.
H. D. Money, Montgomery county.
W. A. Percy, Washington county.
J. S. Hamm, Lauderdale county.
William R. Barksdale, Grenada county.
W. T. Martin, Adams county.
T. S. Ford, Monroe county.
Melancthon Smith, Jackson county.
J. N. Casey, Itawamba county.
R. L. Hudson, Yazoo county.
A. T. Roane, Calhoun county.
Jeff Wilson, Pontotoc county.
J. B. Deason, Lawrence county.
Benjamin King, Copiah county.
G. H. Lester, Yalobusha county.
J. M. Phillips, Tunica county.

The November election in the North had resulted in a Democratic tidal wave, whose significance and hopefulness to the South could not be overestimated. The assurance of a large Democratic majority of representatives in the next congress, was as the dawn of a day of sunshine, after a long night of darkness and storm. It promised a complete estoppal of the reconstruction policy, in so far as it required the legislative sanction. Under such a cheering auspice congress met in December. Expectancy centered on that part of the president's message devoted to the invisible Southern question. In this the usual aggressive and harsh tone seemed to have been supplanted by one that was deprecatory, and defensive. It is more than probable that the executive's "native hue of resolution had been sicklied over with the pale cast of thought," by the November message served on him. After noting with "regret," the "decided indication at the late election in some localities of the Southern States of a determination by acts of violence and intimidation to deprive citizens

of the ballot because of their political opinions," etc., etc., the president said:

"The whole subject of executive interference with affairs of a State is repugnant to public opinion, to the feeling of those who, from their official capacity, must be used in such interposition, and to him or those who must direct. Unless most clearly on the side of law, such interference becomes a crime, with the law to support it, it is condemned without a hearing."

The president here paid ungracious tribute to the American love of self-government, and the inveterate disrelish for Federal interference in domestic affairs. While the existence of this sentiment was unwillingly conceded by a sectional administration, the enforced recognition of an influence that could not longer be defied with impunity, was significant.

January 5th, the day after Sheridan had ejected the members of the Louisiana legislature, a resolution was introduced in the senate asking the president to furnish information concerning the action. This precipitated an exceedingly acrimonious speech. The attack of Democrats upon the outrage was supported by mass meetings in all the leading Northern cities that ought to have been a warning on the administration, attended and addressed as they were by many Republicans of national prominence. The speech that was perhaps the most impressive on the Democratic side was that of Senator Schurz, of Missouri. He thus closed a profoundly significant narrative of the Louisiana situation:

"Where is the law from which the national government in case of threatened trouble in a State derives its power to invade a legislative body by armed force, to drag out persons seated as members of a State legislature, that others may take their places? Where is the law, I ask? You will search the Constitution and the statutes in vain. It is my deliberate judgment, conscientiously found, that the deed done January 4th in Louisiana constitutes gross and manifold violation of the Constitution and the laws. Senators! We have arrived at a crisis. I will not conceal that I cannot contemplate that crisis without grave apprehension, for what has happened already makes me look forward with anxiety to what may still be in store for us."

Before responding to the senate resolution for information in the Louisiana matter, acknowledgment was made of the communication from General Sheridan, upon it. In his reply, Jan-

uary 6th, Secretary of War Belknap stated: "Your telegrams all received. The president and all of us have full confidence in you and thoroughly approve your course." The same day he again wired the administration's endorsement, as follows: "You seem to fear we shall be misled by biased or partial statements of your acts. Be assured that the president and cabinet confide in your wisdom and believe all your acts have been and will be judicious." Under the counsel of his attorney general, Williams, the president decided to send in a message to congress as recommended by General Sheridan, one literally breathing threatenings and slaughter. But other members of his cabinet had been more deeply impressed by recent popular demonstration of disapproval of the Sheridan plan. Secretary of State Fish was quoted as declaring that he would resign rather than give it sanction. Others of the president's official advisers were no less emphatic in rejecting the course submitted for their approval. Thus admonished the president's recommendation to congress, January 14th (see messsage), was modified. Though, as it was, the message comprised a bitterly partisan assault on the white people of Louisiana, with an apologetic explanation of the use of the army and of General Sheridan's acts. The message closed as follows:

"If error has been committed by the army it has always been on the side of the promotion of good order, the maintenance of law and the protection of life. * * * I now earnestly ask that such action be taken by Congress as to leave my duties perfectly clear in dealing with the affairs of Louisiana."

The president's annual message, with its recommendations, had been in due course referred to the Republican caucus. It was soon shown that it was no longer so simple to come to an agreement upon Southern measures as in the past. At this juncture of affairs the leaders were harassed and divided over doubtful and conflicting questions of policy. In the past there had always been unquestioned fealty to the majority and readiness in the two houses of Congress to respond to every demand for supplying such additional legislation as Southern emergencies might require. The situation was now complicated. While the cautious would have halted, a Democratic majority in the next house was a grave

admonition to the Republican leaders to take time by the forelock—while their complete control over law-making existed to lodge ample power in the executive for dealing, according to the calls of the Southern governments, with any situation that might arise. There was, besides a presidential election, less than two years ahead to be taken care of. Extremists like Butler and Coburn in the house, and Chandler and Morton in the senate, were all for the Sheridan banditti treatment. With them were the president, and his South-hating attorney general. The Southern Republican adventurers were of course in favor of any drastic steps, which they clearly saw was their sole hope.

Under such stress of sentiment the joint caucus of the Republicans of the two houses undertook to frame a law that would serve the ends of partisanship, and on which the party members could be united. As drawn, their bill provided for re-enactment of the sections of the Ku Klux law of 1871, which authorized the president to suspend the writ of habeas corpus, with express authority to use the army to suppress disorder and maintain the peace. United States marshals and their deputies were given full power to conduct elections, count the ballots, supervise returns and make arrests of any persons who intimidated voters or unlawfully interfered with elections. As first presented in the caucus, the bill was so drawn that the president could suspend the writ of habeas corpus in any city, county, district or State in the Union. This disclosed the despotic intention of the party leaders. After a speech against the bill, as drawn, by Speaker Blaine, it was so changed as to limit it to the "lately rebellious States." Even after the change, over thirty Republicans refused to obey the caucus mandate to support the bill.

The determination with which Republicans urged the passage of their caucus measure, known as the force bill, and the tenacity with which it was opposed, marked the struggle as a crisis in national politics. Democrats assailed the bill as the culmination of a policy in subversion of constitutional government. The issue was so accepted by their adversaries—the design of clinching their control of powers in perpetuity was not concealed. It was thus avowed in a capitalized paragraph in the administration

organ, the *National Republican,* which appeared while the struggle over the bill was waging:

"The passage of the bill is required to preserve to the Republican party the electoral votes of the Southern States. Remember, that if the Democrats carry all the Southern States, as they will if the white league usurpation in some of them is not suppressed, it will require only fifty Democratic electoral votes from the Northern States to elect a Democratic president."

The determination of no party struggle in the reconstruction years was looked on with graver forebodings throughout the South, than this which raged until the close of the forty-third congress. Retarded as this despotic measure was by opposition within the Republican party, and the efforts of the leaders to win over such opponents, it did not come up for consideration in the house until February 24, 1875, only a week before the end of the session. So near was the hour of adjournment that Democrats hoped to stave off a final vote, through delay tactics. Fully alive to the situation, the Republicans strove to force the passage of the bill. The Republicans were led on the floor by B. F. Butler, and the Democrats by Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania, one of the ablest leaders and strongest characters of his day. Beginning with the morning of the 24th the sitting of the house was continuous until the evening of the 25th. The time was wholly taken up with refusals of the minority to vote, followed by questions of quorum and roll calls and all sorts of filibustering motions. Under house rules, adopted some years after, such delay would not have been possible. Nor is it probable it would have been sustained then, but for the sympathy of Speaker Blaine with the opposition to the force bill. Another thing that stood the Democrats in good stead at this juncture, was the extreme unpopularity of Gen. B. F. Butler, the manager of the caucus measure. Between Butler and Blaine there was intense dislike—a feeling that led to a bitterly hostile passage between them on this occasion.

In spite of such favoring circumstances, when the house adjourned on the evening of the 25th, Democrats "anxiously thought of the morrow." They realized that the limit of their delay procedure was neared, if not reached. How two days

more of priceless time was won is thus narrated in Mayes' *Life of Lamar:*

"Mr. Lamar's noble course in Congress stood the South in good stead then. Through it and through the kindly feeling which it had engendered for him, he was enabled to accomplish in this emergency what probably no other Democrat could have done. He found the way out of the trouble. He had not taken an active part in the filibustering; but after the adjournment, late at night, contemplating the fateful morrow and desperate about the hopeless prospects, he visited the speaker at his residence. He impressed upon Mr. Blaine, who was understood not to be in sympathy with the bill, the disasters with which its passage threatened the South. He appealed to him, with the wonderful power he had to reach the better and higher natures of men when he wished, to extricate the South, if possible, from the toils closing around her; and there he received from the speaker a hint which was used to good purpose the following day."

When the house assembled the next day and the clerk came to read the minutes of the previous session, a demand came from the Democratic side that he read the record of the forty roll calls in full. This was the "hint" given by Speaker Blaine, who sustained the demand. Foreseeing the time that would be thus consumed, a proposition was made by the majority having the effect to postpone the final house vote until the close of the following day, which was accepted. The bill was then debated under a five minute rule. At the close of Mr. Lamar's remarks, which were described in the associated press report as "making a deep impression on the house," Mr. Dawes, of Massachusetts, asked unanimous consent that an hour be given the member from Mississippi, in which to present the Southern side of the question. But there was too much partisan and sectional intolerance to permit such consent. While the bill was pending the reports of the committees for investigating Alabama and Vicksburg were submitted. Both closed with the recommendation for passage of the bill. Before passage it was amended by restricting its operations to the four States of Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas and Louisiana.

By a vote of 135 to 114 the bill passed the house on Saturday night, February 27th. Thirty-eight Republicans, including a number of the most prominent members, voted against it, and in defiance of their party caucus. The bill did not reach the senate until Monday, March 1st, three days before adjournment.

It was finally laid aside, after a feeble effort for its passage. Lack of time was alleged for its failure, but it was in truth due to Republican dread, or lack of earnest favor. Northern sentiment was growing cold toward reconstruction. Many senators constrained in their votes by the caucus, in their hearts desired the defeat of a measure that was in fact a conspiracy to re-elect Grant and perpetuate the prostitution in the South of constitutional government.

But there was still a large and influential element untouched by the spread of a kinder, juster feeling toward the South. Indeed the signs of relentment made the South-haters more violent. In the senate debate on the bill a report was read from a meeting of Boston preachers, February 12, 1875. It quoted the Rev. B. J. Ives as saying that,

"We are undertaking to coax the devil out of the miserable whelps down South when nothing but cannon and strychnine ought to be used. The more I hate the rebels of the South the more I love God."

In a time pregnant with events of signal moment it is common to refer to this or that action as marking a crisis of destiny. But above all others of the era except probably the failure of impeachment of President Johnson, in Southern, and national, fatefulness stands the force bill of 1875. Its enactment would have neutralized the check imposed on reconstruction by the people in the election of a majority of Democratic representatives, and this was its design. It is said with exact truth, truth less appreciated at the time than afterwards, that its defeat was a turning point in national history. Its passage as introduced in their party caucus by the Republican leaders, would have sounded the knell of "government of the people, by the people, for the people." Its defeat was the start of the ebb flow of sectional persecution. To no State did the change mean more than to Mississippi. Her people were just entering upon a campaign for throwing off the carpetbag and negro yoke. Under existing environments, chance of success seemed remote. The emergency called for complete unity of all the white population, and their arduous and unflagging exertion. Even as matters stood, however discreet might be the conduct of the canvass,

there was grave cause of fear of coercion by Federal troops. Had the force bill passed, the case would have been hopeless.

Republican congressmen who opposed the force bill were much applauded, and little less in the North than in the South. How odious the measure was may be read in the statement of the *New York Tribune,* that "outside of Washington only one or two journals have been so blinded by partisanship as to support the nefarious force bill." It was the occasion of lasting dissension in the Republican party, and a number of bitter personal quarrels. Butler's evil heart and bitter tongue involved him in numerous wordy frays. One with Senator Poland, growing out of a discussion of the force bill, was thus told in the *New York Tribune* Washington correspondence:

> "You have no right to say that," said Judge Poland. "What evidence have you?"
>
> General Butler—"None, perhaps, but I believe it."
>
> Judge Poland—"I believe you are a d—d liar."
>
> General Butler—"My courage, sir, has never been impeached. I am quite able to resent an accusation like that. You had better be careful."
>
> Judge Poland—"I don't think I have great courage, but I have quite enough for this occasion. Not much is needed."
>
> As the two men parted and as Judge Poland turned round, Mr. Lamar of Mississippi, who stood at his elbow, remarked that he thought Judge Poland might have needed some assistance, and intimetad that he was ready to render it. Mr. Poland thanked Mr. Lamar cordially, but remarked in a dignified way, "I am a fighting man myself, sir."

Toward the close of session, Congress adopted the long pending civil rights bill—a measure designed to enforce racial equality where it was as impossible as it was repugnant. The Republican leaders had inherited this bill from the late Charles Sumner. On his death bed, a year before, he had asked them "to take care of my civil rights bill." Thus bequeathed it descended to the management, in the house, of B. F. Butler. After being put through that body it passed the senate, February 27, 1875. But there had been material amendment of the bill as Sumner knew it—to carry it through the most mischievous provisions had been compulsorily shorn. From the list of places wherein equality of the races was originally declared, the schoolhouse and the graveyard were stricken. There was bitter opposition to the change from the extremists. Congressman Julius Caesar Burroughs, of Michigan, thus prophesied evil of it:

"If the discrimination of the separate schools were made, there would be at the end of a generation a hostility between the races more bitter than to-day, and which must inevitably end in bloodshed and war. By such provision you turn the pointer on the dial squarely backward a half or three-quarters of a century."

This prophecy is being fulfilled in mockery and confusion. Race hostility is as bitter in Kansas as in Mississippi, and the largest contributor to the bitterness in the former State has been the mixed race schools, which Mr. Burroughs favored as an antidote. As toned down, restricted in its operations to hotels, theatres, and public conveyances, little apprehension of serious harm or disturbance ensued. A like State law in Mississippi was hung up as a dead letter, and the same fate, it was felt, awaited the Federal law. And until it was annulled as unconstitutional it proved more embarrassing in the North than in the South, where the negro masses of that day did not seek equality. If enforced it would have proved what correspondent H. V. Redfield wrote of the bill:

"If a committee of devils in the infernal region had drawn up a plan to destroy the blacks, they could not have hit on a better measure than the bill as it passed the Senate. At the same time I admit that as an abstract question it is right. But it cannot be enforced. If it is the object of the originators and supporters of the bill to hasten the extermination of the negroes, they have hit on an excellent plan."

The very worst construction of the design of the power conferred upon Governor Ames to organize a standing army of negroes was confirmed by his first appointments of officers under it. The list, published March 1st, was as follows:

A. S. Packer, adjutant general; A. S. Lee and J. J. Spellman, aids on general staff; A Warner, major general; William Gray, brigadier general; John Brown, colonel first regiment of infantry. Warner was a crafty, unscrupulous carpetbagger. Packer and Lee were the emissaries sent by Ames to Vicksburg, and whose failure of nerve alone balked the plan to use the negro militia company for co-operation with Crosby's negro posse, in capturing the courthouse. Gray was the drunken, turbulent negro senator-preacher from Washington County. Of all the corrupt, brazen and loathsome gang, he was by common acclaim the chief. His whole art of leadership, the sole policy he played, was dis-

trust and hate of the white men of the State. For his violence and the fear as well as reliance it inspired he was the floor leader of his party. And, with a vague idea of Hayti, as the price of his service in introducing and leading in the governor's military policy, he demanded to be made a brigadier general. Its conference upon him, with its infinite apparent possibilities of evil, caused a feeling of mingled disgust and suppressed rage, in Washington County, where he had been a veritable fire brand for the past five years. He was the unquestioned leader of his race, and the dictator of his party. With the tribute he levied on the carpetbag officials he lived in notorious lewdness and debauchery, which in no degree operated against his service and influence as pastor of a large negro congregation. In this sketch the infamy of Gray's appointment as brigadier general of a military force, that Ames seriously designed organizing, is made apparent. This infamy was not at all mitigated by the negro's boast that the appointment was given him upon a demand which Ames dared not refuse to grant. Col. John Brown was the negro sheriff of Coahoma County.

In due sequence, preliminary to putting the standing army law in operation a notice was published in the State organ calling for "a return to the quartermaster of all arms and equipments hitherto issued to State militia organizations." This order was well understood to be the forerunner of organization under the new law; and to effect the disbandment of the few white companies on which the white people relied for protection. In commenting upon the order the *Aberdeen Examiner* said:

> "What do the white militia companies throughout the State generally prefer to do in regard to 'General Order No. 1?' Do they intend to quietly hand in the guns they hold or will they not cling to them until the negro companies have responded to the order? There is a considerable amount of plunder of that character in this city in the shape of guns and accoutrements in the hands of Crawford's militia company that has not been turned over as yet that we have heard of. And what about those companies that have armed and equipped themselves at their own expense? Do they prefer to tamely disband at the behest of a handful of carpet-baggers, who represent whatever of vitality exists in that infamous specimen of the legislation of a pack of cornfield negroes and peculating vagrants, known as 'an act in violation to the State militia,' or not?"

The sole effect of the order was that of the fire alarm—arous-

ing the white men of the State and moving them to preparation for impending peril. The word went forth for every man to provide himself with a repeating rifle and plenty of cartridges. But midst the swell of the mutterings of the rising storm the hands of the "handful of carpetbaggers" did not forget their cunning; they did not lose sight of what they were here for. A month after the passage of the "standing army act," and before any visible expense had been incurred under it, $5,000 had been drawn from the treasury by Major General Warner, "to pay soldiers."

The Washington County boil on the State's body politic was fast drawing to a head. March 30th it was discovered that the bond of L. T. Webber had been stolen and the bond record mutilated. The stubs were torn from the books of the tax collector for the years 1872 and 1873. Investigation of the taxpayers' league attorneys had disclosed such vast and barefaced stealings by Webber that even Governor Ames had been moved to instruct the Republican district attorney to bring suit upon his bond. It was at such a juncture that the bond disappeared, and with it the tax stubs that alone could furnish the proofs of the amounts of his default. At the same time the spurious delinquent list on which Webber had made his settlements as tax collector disappeared from the auditor's office, in Jackson. The *Greenville Times* thus commented upon this crime:

"It constitutes another deep grievance of the taxpayers and another cause for emphasizing the call of halt. Though it would seem that for this purpose such occurrences are superfluous. The knowledge that six thousand dollars of the country's bonded indebtedness was foisted on us by a midnight trick; that an indefinite amount running far into the thousands of county warrants had, instead of being cancelled as ordered, been thrown on the market; that from $100,000 to $150,000 of taxes collected in the past two years had been diverted from the public uses by a technicality into the pockets of official pilferers, and so hidden out as to be visible only to the State auditor and the tax collectors, was enough to drive any people to rebel. And now comes this stealing and mutilation of records! We urge the attention of the grand jury which meets next week to the matter."

The April term of the court convened in the midst of an excited though repressed feeling. The white citizens having obtained control of the board of supervisors at the election in 1873, the grand jury for the term included in its membership

and was controlled by some of the most prominent citizens of the county. One of these was S. G. French, who had been a major general in the Confederate army. The foreman was Major Wade Hampton, Jr., son of Lieutenant General Hampton. The grand jury sat daily from April 5th until the 12th, when it was summoned before Judge Shackleford and dismissed upon technical objections that the public saw was a subterfuge. A statement signed by a number of the grand jury and setting out the facts of the incident was published. It closed as follows:

"Believing that the rights of the community have been trampled upon and one of the safeguards of liberty broken down by the arbitrary action of the court, and that the people of Washington County have a right to know the pretext offered for depriving you of the grand jury selected by your representatives, we respectfully submit the foregoing for your consideration."

In the face of this imputation upon his integrity Judge Shackelford was mute. Tyrannical as he was, he made no rule against the signers of the paper, which was published while, and where, he was holding court. Subsequently *The Times* published a signed communication which charged that the judge said "with an oath," to certain Republicans who called to remonstrate against his carrying his protection of Webber to such length, that "all the Democrats in Washington County could not move him; that Webber had done no worse than the rest, and he should not be harmed."

In publishing the grand jury address the *Greenville Times* in an article headed "A Signal Gun of Distress" said:

"At the time of the summary and unprecedented dismissal of the grand jury it was engaged in a thorough investigation of the frauds and criminal violations of law in certain county offices. This was destined to materially assist in the recovery of large sums of money held by tax collectors from the State and county revenues for which civil suits have been instituted. Such an investigation by a body of men composed of some of the best citizens of the county caused the report of their sittings and findings to be eagerly watched for by taxpayers and good citizens generally. Naturally to have the session of the grand jury thus cut short has produced an intense feeling of indignation, succeeded by a deeper depression than ever before. Another grand jury has been summoned, though grave doubts exist as to its legality."

Determination upon a policy of moderation alone prevented open denunciation of the outrage as the act of a corrupted court.

No one doubted but that L. T. Webber, the negro sheriff's chief deputy, in fact, the acting and actual sheriff of the county, and chief proprietor of the State newspaper organ and printing establishment, had bought the discharge of the grand jury. The *Greenville Times,* after court had adjourned, had the following in a lengthy article reviewing the situation:

"And now after the adjournment of court, ex-Tax Collector Webber is as free from punishment or of having to refund a dollar of his plunder as though he were guiltless of wrong! Taxpayers, our motive and object in this article is to induce you to reflect and resolve that though there may be no punishment for past crimes, there shall be no opportunity for future robbery; that no more will your purse strings be loosened at the coming of this tax collector."

April 10th the call for a meeting of the committee appointed by the legislature was issued by its chairman, J. M. Stone, of Tishomingo, at Jackson on the 17th of May; to counsel upon the political situation. Friends of the movement for a reform government were invited to attend the meeting and participate in the deliberations of the committee. In pursuance of this call meetings were held in a number of counties and representatives appointed to attend the committee session at Jackson. In Vicksburg a resolution was adopted urging that a delegate convention be held. In Washington County Col. W. A. Percy, the leading citizen and member of the bar, and a member of the committee appointed by the Democratic members of the legislature, published a call for a mass meeting at Greenville in which he said:

"In no part of our State has the yoke of the rulers borne so heavily as with us. Overwhelmed by numbers drilled and disciplined to subserve the will of a few adventurers, the intelligence and conservatism of our community has had no weight or influence in the direction of our public affairs, and it is to be feared that many regard it as useless to put forth an effort to change the conditions environing us. Let us remember, however, that with the redemption of the State government the restoration of our local affairs to a healthy and honest administration will certainly ensue. From every portion of the State comes the notes of preparation for the coming struggle of right against wrong, of honesty with corruption, of a true patriotism seeking to exalt the State with a base counterfeit exploiting Mississippi for self-aggrandizement. From every county comes the call made with the earnestness of men who know that their all is at stake, upon every good and true man to be up and and doing in behalf of right. Our opponents are alarmed and feel that the power of the few leaders over the ignorant masses which they have hitherto used so despotically is about to slip from their grasp. Let us then cast off the

despondency of years. Let us at once respond to the call of our fellow citizens from other portions of the State, in the spirit and with the earnestness which should actuate men suffering as we have. To do this effectually we should define sharply the issues on which we propose to battle, and thoroughly organize our forces for action."

Meetings were held throughout the State, and resolutions declaring the popular wish in the approaching struggle were addressed to the pending meeting of the legislature executive committee. The following resolutions by the Claiborne County Democrats, assembled in Port Gibson May 12th, were expressive of the prevailing feeling:

"*Resolved,* That having in the past, as now, only sought the best material, political and moral interests of the people, and with that view made compromises and resorted to expedients to win to our view the voting rank and file of the Republican party, and having utterly failed therein, we do henceforth abandon and expel from our thoughts all such compromise and expedients and determine to meet our political opponents upon the color line that they have drawn and heretofore used so successfully against us. And while we recognize the civil and political equality of all citizens, yet we ignore any political affiliation with any other race, or with corrupt and designing men of our own race, whether adventurers from abroad or living in our midst, but we pledge ourselves to protect in all his rights and interests any man, white or black, who may come forward to aid in overthrowing corrupt officials and in placing our public interests under the control and rule of white men."

Yazoo responded to the appeal for revolt in a municipal election in Yazoo City. After a spirited contest the white ticket was elected. The victory won over a registered negro majority was held to mark an encouraging turn of the tide.

With such manifestations of determined effort, to overthrow the carpetbag rule, in the black counties, there disappeared all favor of continuance of a temporizing policy. The following endorsement of the Washington County plan of 1874 by the *Raymond Gazette,* hitherto an ultra conservative, was significant of the complete abandonment of olive branch tactics:

"The *Jackson Clarion* and the *Vicksburg Herald* called a halt in the matter of taxpaying. They contend that there is no obligation upon the people of Mississippi to pay one cent for maintenance of Ames, his thieving ring and their infamous usurpations. * * * It matters not what our individual opinions may be on this subject. We are quite certain that the taxpayers of Hinds County have fully made up their minds to pay no more taxes either on State or county account until the work of plunder ceases—until the forms of a Republican government

are restored to them—until they enjoy the right and privileges to which they are supposed to be entitled. In a word, they have submitted to ignorance and incompetency, to plunder and robbery, to a tax almost equivalent to confiscation, just as long as they can without abject servitude and slavery. And now they are willing to resort to extreme measures."

The committee appointed by the Democratic members of the legislature for reorganization of the party met in Jackson May 17th, as called. The meeting was well attended by committee members and appointed delegates, representing nearly all the counties. The proceedings were earnest, harmonious and encouraging. There was adopted a resolution calling a delegate convention at Jackson Tuesday, August 3d, to nominate a candidate for treasurer, which office was vacant by death, to adopt a platform, and take measures for thorough organization for the election in November. County conventions were recommended to be held July 24th, to provide for delegate representation of every county at the State convention; of not less than two from each and not more than double the number to which each county was entitled in the lower house of the legislature. The people were recommended, further, to hold county and district conventions at a time to be fixed by each, to nominate their ablest and best men for congress, the legislature and the county offices. Independent candidates were to be discountenanced and opposed. The following temporary State executive committee was named: J. M. Stone, chairman; Geo. L. Potter, W. F. Tucker, R. H. Taylor, T. B. Graham, W. S. Featherston, W. H. McCardle. Other committees were appointed for special purposes; one to confer with the Republican executive committee in relation to appointments of registers of election. The utmost harmony prevailed, and the most resolute spirit was exhibited.

On July 4th there was a lightning flash from the political clouds overhanging the State that was a signal of the storm burst to come. As usual since the war the national day was largely given up to radical and negro celebrations. And to pay their tribute to the occasion there was a large gathering at the courthouse in Vicksburg. The speech-making was attending by a group of white men whose patience had been worn threadbare by robbery and misrule, and in whose memories the scenes of the

previous December were yet fresh. During a speech by the mulatto secretary of State, which was described as "incendiary, denunciatory of the whites," a quarrel arose between one of the white Democrats and a white deputy sheriff, in which the latter was knocked down and shot, though not fatally. More pistols were drawn. "Then," reads *The Herald* account, "there was such a rush down stairs, out of windows and over balconies as had never been seen before. The negroes ran, jumped and tumbled over the second story balconies with acrobatic agility." One negro was killed in the street and others were wounded, one fatally. "Mayor O'Leary," reads the account, "appeared on the scene and soon secured order. Special police were detailed and at five o'clock everything was quiet. The whole affair is very unfortunate and much to be deplored by all good citizens." The significance of the fray was in the fact that half a dozen white lookers-on so easily stampeded a thousand men, including the sheriff, and all the county officials, both district judges, the district congressman, the secretary of State, and the State superintendent of education. Here was another clear exposure of government with fabric so weak that under the slightest strain it gave way.

It leaked out early in July that a special session of the legislature was to be called, and mainly for the purpose of amending the law for the registration of votes. An ominous outlook called for all possible precaution to avert defeat. As the key to control of the government, the radical leaders sought to make this law more absolutely secure, in the appointments of registrars. An act of the recent session of 1875, provided for a new registration prior to the pending election. Change was sought in both these provisions—that some more surely partisan method of appointment should be substituted, and the election held under the existing lists burthened as they were by deceased and removed voters. How urgent the change was looked upon is to be read in the following from the Radical *Natchez New South:*

"It seems very clear to our mind that the Republicans must do one of two things—either have an extra session of the legislature and have the registration law changed, or else give up the contest to the Democracy without a contest—at least so far as the legislature is concerned."

July 14th the proclamation convening the legislature at Jackson on the 27th of July was issued by the negro lieutenant governor, Ames being absent from the State. "Much doubt of the validity and proper construction of the registration law" was enumerated in the proclamation, as one reason for a special session. Another was the upset by the supreme court of the partisan law empowering the governor to appoint county tax collectors. There could be perceived no other motive of the special session call than the design of bracing up the toppling structure of radical rule. Issued immediately prior to the county Democratic conventions, and while the leaders were addressing the people on the campaign issues, the special session was one more aggravation, nerving them for the crucial struggle that was now at hand.

The tax collector's law was so amended by the legislature as to cure the defects pointed to in the decision adjudging it invalid. The provision of the registration law for a new registration was repealed. The appointment of the registrars was not vested in the governor as had been urged. It was left none the less surely partisan—one each of the board of three county registrars being made appointive by the circuit judge, the chancellor and the sheriff. The appointee of the latter, it was enacted, should be a Democrat. The sort of Democrat a Republican sheriff would appoint may be readily imagined. In this, their last law-making orgy in Mississippi, there was daily confusion and turmoil in debate. *The Herald* correspondence, published July 30th, reads as follows of the representatives:

"It is a noisy body here. A wonderful license is given to debate and personalities are frequently showered across the floor. A half dozen at a time shout themselves hoarse calling Mr. Speaker. One long, lank negro with a high intellectual forehead, caused by the razor and the tweezers, became perfectly exhausted trying to be heard this evening, on a point of order. Cigars are smoked and old pipes puffed away. Odors almost strong as hartshorn are sent forth. Our Democratic friends deserve much credit for standing up to duty here, and certainly nothing but a high sense of duty prompts them."

Another act of the previous session—that depriving the city authorities of Vicksburg of jurisdiction over violations of municipal ordinances—had been invalidated by the supreme court.

The city judge appointed by the governor, it was held, could not exercise his functions without confirmation by the senate. As confirmation failed at the special session, the act fell to the ground. This was significant of Ames' loss of influence in his own party—that the white Republican senators were catching whiffs of the advancing storm.

The special session continued only a week. Not even the per diem could prolong the sitting of men who felt that they were needed at home. Practically all the negroes and carpetbaggers were seeking re-election, and the sailing did not look so smooth as hitherto. Certain town elections told that a change was in the air. The following special that came on the heels of the legislative adjournment was published:

"OKOLONA, Aug. 2.
"In the aldermanic election to-day the color line was strictly drawn, resulting in a Democratic victory for the first time since 1866."

After adjournment a caucus of the leading Radicals was held. It was neither harmonious nor encouraging—some assailing Ames, others the supreme court, and all united in denouncing thieves of their band who had been caught.

County conventions and mass meetings were held as ordered, July 24th, and delegates selected to the Democratic State Convention. The attendance on these gathering was large and representative in all of the counties. The white men were by this time thoroughly aroused to the call for rescuing the State from misgovernment. There was a manifest revival of the spirit of hope and determination that had slumbered since 1868. There was only division among white men upon the question of openly drawing the color line—whether or not there should be an express announcement of a white party. While this was the true policy for its effect upon white voters, and was winning general recognition as the inexorable logic of a bad condition, there were many objections to taking the plunge. Consideration of the political effect in the North called for a limitation of the declaration of war upon the abuses of administration in the South, to the guilty carpetbagger and negro officials. As yet there was no sentiment among Northern men favorable to condemnation of the war

amendments to the constitution, such as a white party would mean. It was still held that the negro removed from his corrupt leaders could be trusted with the ballot. While faith of this sort had well nigh totally vanished in Mississippi, it was felt that full trial, and the appearance of entertaining it, was due to Northern Democratic friends. In some of the black counties this influence, and the supreme desire of averting a race outbreak dictated a fusion ticket policy—a division of the county offices between white Democrats and negro local leaders who had broken away from the regular organization. In the county conventions there was division on this policy; some declaring for fusion, some for the color line and the rest for referring the question to the State convention.

The convention assembled August 3, 1875. The attendance was worthy the supreme occasion, the momentous and arduous duties the delegations were summoned to deal with. In a word it may be said that every county called out its best men, and they responded to the call with rarest self-sacrifice. In all previous, or ante-bellum conventions there had been the restriction of party lines. That of 1875 stood for the united white manhood of Mississippi—united patriotic discharge of duty. While there was the inspiration of an inflexible determination to overthrow at the polls the existing government, there was an universal recognition that excesses must be avoided, as violence would be attended by Federal interference to the ruin of all hopes of re-establishing home rule.

Every county in the State was represented in the convention—some of them by large delegations. The chasm by which they were separated from their government was measured in the following from the *Natchez Democrat* of a succeeding issue:

"The fact that the present Governor of Mississippi, Adelbert Ames, is an alien to the intelligence and worth of the State, had a very marked illustration at Jackson. Just before the assembling of the convention the delegates, some 500 in number, were gathered together in and about the front yard of the capitol conversing in groups. There were hundreds of the best minds of the State in the group, and the intelligence and the wealth, the worthy and the honorable men of this State had here their leaders from every county. At about half-past ten in the morning when this crowd in the court was large enough to

fill it the governor was seen to come from the mansion, proceeding to the executive office. He passed through the groups, obliged to elbow his way very slowly from the court entrance to the front door of the capitol. And from the first to the last, in all this assembly from every portion of the State, not one man turned to him to say, 'Good morning, Governor'—not one gave him a glance of recognition—and he the governor of the State passed through the body representative of its worth, property and intelligence with downcast look like an alien and an outcast, a telling commentary upon radicalism in Mississippi!"

Called to order by Chairman J. M. Stone of the State executive committee, the convention fitly inaugurated its proceedings by choosing ex-Governor Charles Clark, of Bolivar County, as president. No one was more highly endowed by dignity of presence, force of character and the renown of a heroic war record to preside over such a convention. The two conspicuous events of the convention were the speech of L. Q. C. Lamar, then the sole Democratic congressman of the State, and the report of the committee on resolutions. The platform of issues and pledges on which the campaign was to be waged was looked for with intense, even anxious expectancy and concern. The committee to decide on this difficult and delicate document comprised the pick of the convention. The following delegates comprised it: State at large, J. W. C. Watson, Wiley P. Harris, Wm. H. McCardle; first district, W. H. H. Tison, J. M. Stone; second district, H. H. Chalmers, Kinloch Falconer; third district, W. F. Tucker, R. W. Williams; fourth district, W. A. Percy, Otho R. Singleton; fifth district, Amos R. Johnston, A. J. Frantz; sixth district, William T. Martin, Ben King.

While it was commonly inferred that Colonel Lamar would discountenance the color line there was absorbing interest in his speech, and its effect upon the convention and the campaign. The following portions of it are taken from Mayes' *Life of L. Q. C. Lamar,* which was reproduced from the *Jackson Pilot:*

"It has been said by an eminent Southern divine that we live in a time of great events, an era of change—change in the national constitution, change in the government, change in the people, change in the social and political relations—and this American government is either to advance to a higher plane or retrograde to a lower one. The greatest trials of a people are experienced while in the transition state. The complications growing out of the incorporation of a new foreign and incongruous element, and comprising four millions of people, eight hundred thousand voters, cannot fail in producing disturbance in the old

balance of affairs. They are really appalling in their character. A majority of the American people look upon this forced liberation and elevation of this race with deep solicitude and apprehension. It hangs like a mistletoe upon the body politic, to sap its life. It cannot but endanger the nation's life, and threaten its overthrow. Not only the masses, but the leading statesmen of the North, look with fear and dread upon the political experiment which contemplated the incorporation of this race and its exercise of the elective franchise. The people of the South, however, are an adaptable people; and they have in a measure adapted themselves to the changed state of affairs and the new order of things. They saw the great calamity which the policy of the government would bring, and at once prepared with all their earnestness and zeal to avert it. What a vast and awful task was before them! The old system of government was ruined and destroyed, and out of its wreck they had to build and reconstruct the new. * * * They gathered the *disjecta membra,* the remains of their shattered communities, and united in the restoration of the members of society. They hoped for their reunited country. But this hope was dispelled, and the Southern sky was darkened by the party in power. * * * Hence followed Federal interference in Southern affairs, Freedmen's Bureau agents, reconstruction, and bayonets. The disloyalty of the South was given as a pretext for this action; and to this day this cry is kept up, and this Federal interference comes and establishes and maintains governments alien to all the people, white and black. In his place in congress the speaker had said that the iron that they had thrust into the hearts of the Southern people by this relentless and wicked policy burned deeper than the wounds which followed hostile armies.

"The Freedmen's Bureau, the civil rights bill, the reconstruction laws, with agents and military officers, intrenched themselves in the South by force, and are here to-day. The principal is that this policy must trample on the rights of the whites to protect the rights of the blacks, and thus the government itself originally drew the color line in Southern policies as distinctly as if it were an organic requirement of government. Sir Walter Scott, in his novel, 'The Talisman,' tells of the fight between Richard of the Lion Heart and Saladin, when Richard reared his battle axe on high and made the fearful blow, Saladin drew his scimiter, snatched a gauzy, silken veil, threw it in the air, and with one stroke of his keen and trenchant blade cut its folds asunder as it descended. The government has used both instruments of destruction. With the battle axe and iron hand it has crushed out the system in vogue for years; with the lighter sword it has cut asunder the silken tissue of kindness and friendship that had existed between the two races.

"The speaker then depicted, in vivid sketches the condition of the South—in its past days of prosperity; the honor and the pride that comes by government administered by competent hands. * * * In the consideration of remedies for present evils, the speaker said that two separate theories were presented, struggling for mastery. One is to continue the present restrictive policy, and give the President more power to oppress and cripple the South. Under this head the speaker reviewed the character and scope of the enforcement laws, force bills and other similar legislation; and although the new national house of representatives was Democratic (applause) the President still has power to march his army into the country to oppress and outrage the people. Against this policy he pledged the united opposition of his party (applause). Another remedy comprising the Democrats, Liberal Republicans and

many independent voters who are tired of the policy of Federal force and commotion, was suggested. This policy, said the speaker, was based on reconciliation and good feeling. He held that the freedom and enfranchisement of the colored men was fixed in the constitution, but that responsibility of government should rest upon the hands that will be most affected and are most capable. He then referred to leading Democratic politicians North, to show in what spirit they view the question of local self government and their unqualified acceptance of constitutional amendments. The issue of the next national canvass will be, unless the Republican party is recognized as to policy and leadership, whether this Union shall consist of the North and South as equals, or whether the Union shall consist of the North alone. The Republican party has long enough obstructed the government. At no time since the government was established has there been more desire for peace and reconciliation among the American people than now, on the basis of equality and friendship and he was rejoiced to see this spirit. Once convince the Northern people that the workings of the local governments of the South shall be conducted to protect the colored men in all their rights, and in co-operation with them in the sovereignty of the government, and they will become strong and invincible. The means of relief is to make a change at Washington. Now what can be done? He approached this branch of the discussion with the utmost confidence, because the people of the South have the moral courage and heroism upon which to base a hope for reform. After paying a tribute to the moral and Christian character of the people of the South the speaker proceeded to speak of the amendments. I fancy one thing is true, said he; the people of Mississippi have pledged themselves to sustain the three amendments to the constitution, and have no power or desire to change them. They confer upon the newly enfranchised race the sacred rights of freemen, and their rights are your duties. Impaired by any act of yours, your duties by the same act are violated, and the constitution of your country is violated. The speaker felt it his duty to ascend to this high position on this subject. Any effort, said he, looking to an abridgment of their rights is fraught with disaster and burdens and ruin to this people. The color line was talked of. He declared that it would be ruinous to its victors, if victory could be won that way. It is not right. It is not republican. One of the principles of democratic government is that all parts of the body politic shall contribute to its support and control. Any race organization which seeks to assert the exclusive management of a country may have good government, but cannot have liberty. It is tyranny unmixed, and is fraught with disaster. Woe be unto you if you find yourselves confronted, on such a suicidal policy, by the powers of a vindictive government wrought upon your defenseless heads. The speaker appealed to the convention to come up to the requirements of the crisis that is upon them, to realize fully their duties and responsibilities and after an eloquent peroration retired from the stand amid most raptuous applause."

Colonel Lamar was so deeply inspired by the fact that he was addressing himself to a supreme crisis that he thus referred to his speeches during the campaign—*vide* Mayes' *Life of L. Q. C. Lamar*—"I have just emerged from a struggle to keep our people from a race conflict." Like all of his former efforts, this one

was worthy of the occasion and his reputation. The senses of the audience were captivated by an eloquence that never failed to charm. Reason, too, was convinced that all of the expediences of the situation weighed against the color line. But feeling and instinct, none the less, held men back from full concurrence in the doctrine, against which the stars in their courses were fighting. But such was his influence that the following platform aligned on Colonel Lamar's speech, was reported, and, after an animated discussion, adopted by a vote of 162 to 33:

"The democratic and conservative people of the State of Mississippi in convention assembled, invoking the blessing of Almighty God on their efforts, and inviting the co-operation of all citizens of the State who favor honest, impartial and economical administration, do adopt the following declaration of their aims and principles:

"First,—We recognize and will maintain the civil and political equality of all men, as established by the constitution of the United States and amendments thereto.

"Second,—We are in favor of the education of all children of the State, of public schools, sustained by adequate taxation, but opposed to extravagant or partisan administration of said schools.

"Third,—The selection of only honest, faithful and competent men for all offices, from the highest to the lowest.

"Fourth,—Economy in the administration of the government; the abolition of useless and unnecessary offices; reduction of fees and salaries to those that are retained, and a strict and rigid accountability of all officers having control of public money or charged with its collection.

"Fifth,—Biennial sessions of the legislature and reduction of expenses in that department of the government; and we denounce the republican party of the State for violated pledges on this subject.

"Sixth,—The selection of an able and impartial judiciary, and confining judges to judicial functions purely, so that all temptation to partisanship on the bench shall be removed.

"Seventh,—Discontinuance of the enormous evil of special and local legislation, and instead the enactment of general laws under which local and private interests will be fully protected.

"Eighth,—Encouragement of agriculture by securing the farmer and laborer a just reward for their toil and capital, and by relief from burdensome taxation which might consume their substance.

"Ninth,—Encouragement of manufactures in our midst.

"Tenth,—Elevation of the standard of official character so as to infuse into official life the sense of public duty and spirit of patriotism and integrity to the end that government, law and public authority may be invested with the moral influence and dignity which will insure respect and obedience.

"Eleventh,—We favor immediate action by the general government for the protection of the Mississippi river low-lands against inundation.

"Twelfth,—Building up partisan newspapers by legislation, arming militia in time of peace, unconstitutional attempts to take from the people the election of tax collectors, the attempted passage of the Metropolitan police bill, attempted corruption of the judiciary by the use of executive patronage, we denounce as gross outrages upon constitutional

liberty. While as evidence of the utter incapacity of our present rulers to administer the affairs of the State, we point to the mass of confusion in which the revenue and registration laws of the State have become involved, the necessity of extraordinary sessions of the legislature to cure the blunders and follies of the regular sessions, and to the repeated executive and legislative acts which have been by the supreme court declared unconstitutional and void.

"Thirteenth,—*Resolved,* That we cordially invite the voters of all the people of both races to unite vigorously with us in the approaching canvass, in a determined effort to give success to the foregoing principles, and thus secure to our posterity the blessings of an honest, economical government, administered by efficient and competent officers."

As expressed the division in the convention was on a motion to strike the word "conservative" from the preamble. It registered the strength of the opposition of the convention to a formal color line declaration. At the same time, the question was, in fact, left to the action of the counties separately—to be decided as each thought best.

The convention nominated a candidate, W. L. Hemingway, for the office of treasurer, in which there had been a vacancy by death and a temporary appointment. Candidates for Congress were nominated as follows:

First District ..... L. Q. C. Lamar
Fourth District ..... O. R. Singleton
Fifth District ..... C. E. Hooker
Sixth District ..... W. T. Martin

In the second district H. L. Muldrow, and the third H. D. Money, and the sixth (General Martin declining) Roderick Seal, were subsequently nominated in district conventions. The congressional districts at this time were as follows:

First District,—Tishomingo, Alcorn, Prentiss, Itawamba, Lee, Pontotoc, Union, Tippah, Benton, Yalobusha, Lafayette, Calhoun.

Second District,—DeSoto, Panola, Tunica, Coahoma, Bolivar, Sunflower, Leflore, Tallahatchie, Marshall, Grenada, Carroll.

Third District,—Monroe, Chickasaw, Lowndes, Oktibbeha, Choctaw, Montgomery, Noxubee, Winston, Colfax (now Clay), Sumner (now Webster).

Fourth District,—Washington, Madison, Holmes, Yazoo, Leake, Neshoba, Kemper, Attala, Lauderdale, Newton, Scott.

Fifth District,—Warren, Hinds, Issaquena, Rankin, Simpson, Smith, Jasper, Clarke, Wayne, Jones, Covington, Lawrence.

Sixth District,—Claiborne, Jefferson, Adams, Wilkinson, Copiah, Amite, Franklin, Pike, Lincoln, Marion, Perry, Greene, Jackson, Hancock, Harrison.

The most important work of the convention was the selection of a State executive committee, to direct the policies and the action of the campaign. In no subsequent, or previous political struggle, was so much expected and did so much depend, upon this body, which was constituted as follows:

State at Large,—Gen. J. Z. George, chairman, Jackson; J. D. Vertner, Port Gibson; H. M. Street, Boonville.
First District,—W. H. H. Tison, Baldwin; A. T. Roane, Pittsboro.
Second District,—H. H. Chalmers, Hernando; E. C. Walthall, Grenada.
Third District,—Thomas B. Sykes, Aberdeen; J. A. Binford, Duck Hill.
Fourth District,—W. A. Percy, Greenville; J. A. P. Campbell, Canton.
Fifth District,—E. Richardson, Jackson; U. M. Young, Vicksburg.
Sixth District,—J. B. Chrisman, Brookhaven; Roderick Seal.

The campaign was actively opened throughout the State after the State convention was held. It was wholly aggressive on the part of the Democrats from the start. The Republicans were not only placed on the defensive, there was the usual strife in their ranks over the local offices. In a number of counties this resulted in open division—the bolters in some cases fusing with the Democrats. But such action by the leaders caused no serious disturbance of solid ranks among the followers. In Holmes county the discord resulted in a bloody factional fray at Lexington. Two of the leaders of one of the factions were killed in the courthouse in an executive committee meeting. One of the persons arrested for the murder was "Colonel" Lee, the member of the governor's staff who had figured in the Vicksburg riot.

There was a furious fight in the Northern district for the Republican nomination for Congress. One of the contestants was United States District Attorney G. Wiley Wells, of Ku Klux fame.[6] He was exceedingly bitter against Governor Ames, who was trying to defeat him. In a speech at Hernando the governor was denounced in good set terms. Wells charged that

[6]See McNeily's "The Enforcement Act of 1871 and the Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi," in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* IX, 109-171.

in consultation between the governor, Attorney-General Harris and Sheriff Crosby of Warren county, prior to the Vicksburg riot, the governor instructed Crosby to arm the blacks and march against Vicksburg. Attorney-General Harris protested against this instruction, and urged a resort to the courts. After Crosby left with his instructions Ames turned to Harris and said that "the blood of twenty-five or thirty negroes would benefit the party in the State." Wells asserted that "this statement was made on the written authority of one of the most reliable and truthful Republicans in the State." As no other man was in a position to make such a revelation than Attorney-General Harris, no other could have been meant. That official, besides, was present at the meeting Wells addressed and heard him make the charge without denial and with apparent approval. The cold-blooded and brutal words attributed to Ames were entirely consistent with the thinly disguised feeling of the carpetbaggers toward the negroes. To a denunciatory publication in the radical organ Wells replied by repeating the accusation and formally challenged denial from Ames, which he said would be met by the proof. Ames remained silent, and the charge has become history.

A marked feature of the campaign was an increase of jealousy and hostility of the negro leaders toward the carpetbag brethren. In some counties the negroes openly drew the color line against them. In probably a majority of the counties a dissension which invited defeat was rife. In the Northern congressional district the convention to nominate a candidate split, each faction putting out a nominee. In the fourth (the Canton) district the supporters of one of the two white Republican candidates bolted the convention. The nominee was Ames' major-general, Warner. The convention was presided over by Brigadier-General Gray, the corrupt and incendiary Washington county negro senator. In the Jackson-Vicksburg district there were four candidates—the sitting member, the United States marshal, the circuit judge of Warren County district, white, and the mulatto secretary of state. To the intense disgust of the other three, the latter was nominated. He was forthwith marked down for defeat. In the third district there was a

furious intestinal broil, the leaders of one of the two factions taking and holding the chair with a pistol drawn.

August 15th the Democratic State executive committee met and issued an address to the people of Mississippi. The advent to power of a Democratic Congress was hailed as "a pledge to the nation that the shameless disregard of the right of local self-government and the bold usurpations of power which have marked the recent history of public affairs shall have an end." The address continues as follows:

"With profound thankfulness we recognize the fact that the day has gone by for the passage of enforcement acts, and for suspensions of the writ of *habeas corpus* in time of peace. * * * The dispersing of State legislatures by Federal bayonets, the wicked and calumnious branding of the people of three States as outlaws and banditti by a military officer, in an official communication, and the suggestion that their people be tried by court-martial in time of profound peace will arouse the apprehension and call forth the indignant protests of the representatives of a people devoted to constitutional liberty. From the passions of the war purposely played upon and kept alive by the party in power, it is pleasing to turn to the indications of returning good-will between the sections everywhere so abundant and so cordial. The people of Mississippi gladly welcome and heartily reciprocate these manifestations of patriotism and fraternal love and they view with pleasure the prospect that the presidential contest of the centennial year will be crowned with the triumph of a candidate whose election shall put an end to sectional ill-will and distrust at the North, and to the domination of ignorance and race hatred in the South. Preparatory to that great struggle it becomes us to address ourself to the task of shaking off in Mississippi a local government whose history has brought the blush of shame to the cheeks of Northern Republicans, and which in connection with kindred governments at the South has done much to overthrow the Republican party of the nation."

Here follows a scathing and accurate arraignment of affairs in Mississippi embracing sketches of the State officers; of a "governor who is an alien and an adventurer; a lieutenant-governor against whom, in addition to an incompetence patent to all men there, are grave suspicions of bribery in the discharge of official duties; a superintendent of education who stands indicted by a grand jury of numerous felonies and whom his own party has neither the courage to impeach nor the audacity to defend; of judicial positions, with some honorable exceptions, occupied by men utterly illiterate and so ignorant of their simplest duties that their attempts to discharge them would be ludicrous if they were not so harmful." It continues:

"Our legislative halls are controlled by a combination of ignorance and corruption which baffles all hope of reformation. The men who impose our taxes are entirely dissevered in sympathy and interest from those by whom they are paid. The logical and inevitable consequence of this has been an increase of the rate of taxation, State and local, of more than 1,500 per cent. in six years, and yet our people each day growing poorer and staggering under a burden too grievous to be borne, see with despair the public expenditures each year exceed the revenue."

It was declared in the address that:

"The overthrow of such a government and the defeat of such a party is the supreme necessity of the hour and has become the duty of every honest man. * * * We are gratified at being able to state that a careful scrutiny has satisfied us that active exertions in a few doubtful counties, with vigilance elsewhere, will give us control of the next legislature."

Thorough organization and the formation of local clubs was urged, and the appointment of active men at each precinct for that purpose. At this time the State committee calculation did not pass beyond securing a majority of representatives, the rescue of all the white counties and those with narrow negro majorities. But the spirit of revolution was more widespread and deeply implanted than was calculated. It became apparent very soon after the campaign opened that it was, speaking figuratively and possibly literally, to be " a war to the knife." Organization was formed against the intolerable misrule of negroism in some of the blackest counties. In Washington County, where the negro population was kept in a perpetual ferment by Gray and his satellites, the situation became critical early in August. In a speech at Egg's Point, Gray, now a brigadier-general as well as State senator, urged his candidacy for the sheriff's office, for which he had his party nomination, in characteristic fashion. He told his large negro audience that—

"He was bound to be sheriff, that Governor Ames was going to send him a thousand stand of arms, to secure his election, and, if necessary, he would kill all the white men, women and children and even children in their cradle in Washington County. As to his not being able to make the bond, this did not concern him in the least. As brigadier-general he commanded the militia in eleven counties and was going to organize and arm them all. You must all load your shotguns with buckshot and have them ready."

When this atrocious speech was reported and published in

the county paper it naturally caused a stir. But no movement being made against Gray and his turbulent gang, they simply became bolder. And a few days afterward, in Greenville, they made a murderous attack upon a merchant of the town. A few white men rushed to the scene in time to prevent murder. Shots were exchanged, and one of the rioters, J. A. Ross, was badly wounded. Gray and the rest fled into hiding. This was the last drop—the burning of powder cleared away all clouds of irresolution. The Republican mayor, who was held responsible for the license that led to crime, was called on to resign, which he did. Gray, it was learned afterward, sent out a call for the country negroes to march on the town, which fell flat. All saw that the white men, worn out by long tolerance, were in no mood for trifling. A rifle company, with Capt. W. G. Yerger in command, was formed. There was a pretense of "investigation" by Judge Shackelford. Emerging from cover, Gray was waited on and notified to withdraw from the race for sheriff, and that he could only remain in the community during the good behavior he promised. A hundred stand of rifles sent to the county militia by Ames' adjutant general was shipped back, to be secured in Vicksburg by "parties unknown."

Gray gave Washington County no more trouble after this. Although he withdrew from the race for sheriff, he still had his pull with his party, which appointed him to head the county delegation to the State convention while he was in hiding. The delegation was composed of Gray and three other turbulent negroes and Judge C. C. Shackelford. The degradation of Ames politically was in no other connection so strongly marked as in the influence of this black wretch over him. While he was "riding his high horse," the then mayor, John H. Nelson, of Greenville, wrote the governor a statement of the outrageous conduct Grey was carrying on under authority of his commission as brigadier-general, and warning the governor that bloodshed and riot was certain unless he checked his appointee. This letter was not answered. Worse than this, it was mailed by the governor to Grey, who exhibited it as further sign of his influence over the governor and of his license to continue his outrageous course.

Replying to the remarks of the *Greenville Times* concerning Brigadier-General Grey, the *Jackson Pilot* "wondered if Senator William Grey *will* really leave Washington County, his home, because the *Greenville Times,* in true Ku Klux style, orders him to? Reckon not." A year later, in consequence of a grand jury report and a batch of indictments in which he was included, Grey did leave his home county. Certain of his household effects were levied on by the sheriff and sold. In the lot was a chest of drawers in which was a batch of letters that for the first time disclosed how absolutely Governor Ames yielded himself up to this negro incendiary. The letters passed into the possession of the *Greenville Times,* which published the following from Ross to Grey:

"GREENVILLE, June 17th, 1874.

"*Dear Brother,*—I learn that you have been appointed brigadier-general. That letter of yours raised Ames out of his boots. Let me know who your staff is. I want to be your adjutant-general. Send an order to Julius Junkerman (circuit clerk) at once to give those guns and cartridges to me at once. And I will proceed to muster a company, elect some one captain and when they are properly mustered and enrolled arm them.

What Grey had written that raised Ames out of his boots may be inferred from the following fragment of a letter from Ames —on the State executive letter head and in the governor's well-known handwriting:

"JACKSON, MISS., ——— 187—.

"A commission as trustee of Tougaloo was not sent as a substitute for your B. G.'s commission, but as additional and cumulative evidence of the confidence and esteem in which I hold you. When I break 'faith' with you, or 'evade promises,' my dear Senator, then you may 'slap me in the face,' but you are not justified in doing so at this time. I return the commission as trustee, and before I leave for the North with my family, which will be in two weeks, you shall have the B. G.'s commission.

"Very truly yours,
"ADELBERT AMES."

Commenting, the *Greenville Times* said:

"Grey had received the Tougaloo appointment instead of the coveted 'Brigadier General's commission, and insultingly returned it with a threat that he would slap Ames' face.'"

Closely following the disorders in Washington County was a

riot in Noxubee in which several negroes were killed. The *Meridian Mercury* published the following letter from Judge H. W. Foote, a prominent citizen of Noxubee, relating the circumstances of the collision:

"On Sunday, August 22d, negroes were beating drums and marching about Ed Connor's place. He remonstrated and a quarrel ensued. The negroes threatened vengeance and collected in a large crowd with guns. They say it was to protect their club president. The sheriff summoned men to keep the peace. Under charge of a deputy they went to the place. The negroes had dispersed. On the return of the sheriff and posse they came upon a large armed assembly at New Hope church. Deputy Sheriff Lucas approached and urged them to lay down their arms, assuring them they would not be hurt. They refused, and firing began simultaneously on both sides. Six negroes were shot; no whites hurt. I write hurriedly and give you the information as Lucas gave it to me."

Another published letter from the scene of hostilities contained the following:

"I have just time to write of affairs in Noxubee before the mail closes. A regiment of well mounted men have just passed through town bringing fifty prisoners."

The *Meridian Mercury* thus stated the cause of the trouble:

"Dr. Allgood was nominated for sheriff by the negroes in their county convention, beating Conner, the present sheriff, who immediately announced himself as an independent candidate. Out of this grew the turbulence of radical factions which, as we understand it, culminated in the bloody fight of the Fox Trap prairie. Among the prisoners lodged in jail is Dr. Allgood. We know the doctor and know he has been running very low down with the negroes of Noxubee for a long time. He had degraded himself to the lowest level scallawaggery could sink to."

Under such troublous and menacing clouds the radical convention met August 25th at Jackson. The *Vicksburg Herald* account reported that "they are all here, but mighty quiet." While the credentials committee was out the leaders were called on for counsel of comfort. The general talk was for harmony and peace among themselves. A "long-haired white delegate from Harrison County said if carpetbaggers and negroes did not all pull together, they would have to leave." Morgan, of Yazoo, wanted boards of supervisors and other non-partisans officers divided with Democrats." More speeches to the same effect were delivered, "showing," said *The Herald* report, that "the

boys were all scared." After nominating a candidate for State treasurer and adopting a platform that witlessly congratulated the Radical party upon the "successful and economical administration" of Governor Ames, the convention adjourned. Never again were "they all there"—there was never another gathering of the men who had ruled and robbed the State for the past six years. Before another year had elapsed, Ames and all of them were scourged from the temple they had so long defiled, and most of them, to escape the penalties of their guilt, departed into other States.

One of the resolutions of this convention was to commission Chairman Warner, of the State committee, to proceed with a delegation to Washington to negotiate with the president for troops to be used in the campaign. That idea of Federal armed aid ran all through the Republican plans and expectations, and, of course, had the effect of inspiring the negro voters with arrogance and led to acts of turbulence and violence.

The carpetbaggers were in actual physical fear of the storm they had raised. At the same time, if they did not maintain their influence over the negro masses on the old teachings of the dreadful things that would happen if the Democrats carried the election, their case was lost. In an editorial at this period the *New York Tribune* thus referred to the Mississippi embarrassments:

> "After all, it is no great wonder that the Southern negroes have got their heads stuffed full of such wild and mischievous notions. Carpetbag politicians have been teaching them for ten years that the whites, among whom they live, are their natural enemies and oppressors, and that nothing stands between them and slavery but the Federal government. They have been threatened with all sorts of evils if they allowed the Republican party in the South to be overthrown, and promised all sorts of blessings if they supported the administration candidates."

The main scarecrow used to hold the negroes solid was the "Black Code" of 1865, as the State race laws immediately after emancipation were styled. In a letter published September 4, 1875, Gen. J. Z. George, the chairman of the State Democratic committee, as effectually as reason could, sought to allay the prejudicial uses which every radical teacher was making of that

legislation. His letter, which possessed historic and lasting value, is quoted:

"The plea that the whites are not to be trusted because of the legislation of 1865 will not be recognized as a good one. The answer to it will be found in the legislation of the Northern States themselves, in the action of the United States congress and executive, preparatory to emancipation during the late war, and in the example of Great Britain when she abolished slavery in the West Indies. A short review of this legislation will be well; for it will be found that the legislation of 1865 has, in most of its provisions, its prototype in the legislation of the Northern States, and taken altogether, was more moderate in its character, securing greater and more substantial right to the freedmen, and that at shorter period, than the legislation attending emancipation in any other country. It is complained that the whites of Mississippi did not at once allow the freedmen to hold estate, and that each one was required to have a home by the first day of January, 1866. In New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Connecticut and Rhode Island, when they were set free, they were not allowed the privilege of selecting homes at all. They were required to remain with their old masters and serve without pay—those already born when emancipation took place for life and those born afterwards from 21 to 28 years. And finally, after many years' experience with this class of people, Indiana and Illinois by constitutional provision, prohibited the moving to and settling within their border, of free negroes and mulattos on any terms whatever.

In Indiana, Illinois, Iowa and Kansas, negroes and mulattos were not allowed to testify in any case in which a white person was interested, although free negroes and mulattos were also interested. In all the New England States such qualifications were required and such a mode of selection adopted, as almost necessarily excluded all negroes from juries. In Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska and Kansas, free negroes and mulattoes were expressly excluded from jury service, and in all others they were practically so excluded. As late as the 6th of March, 1865 (this very year in which this Mississippi legislation was had), Indiana re-enacted a provision that school taxes should be collected from whites only, and only white children should go to the public schools; and in Illinois the school tax was to be divided between the whites and blacks, by giving each race what that race paid. In Nebraska the common schools were for whites only till 1869. * * * In nearly all of these States their constitutions prohibited the negroes from voting, and their right to vote in these States rests entirely on the fifteenth amendment."

The next campaign outbreak of disorder and bloodshed occurred in Yazoo City. During the whole of reconstruction the county negroes had been led by A. T. Morgan, an ex-Union soldiers and an intense partisan. While the carpetbaggers, as a rule, pretended to favor social race equality, Morgan practiced it. He was commonly known as "Highgate" Morgan, Highgate being the name of the mulatto woman he had married. He was close to Ames and the Republican extremists. Two years

before he had made good his contested claim to the sheriff's office, by murdering the sheriff in legal possession of the office. He barely escaped taking his own medicine in a riot that was thus reported in the *Yazoo Democrat:*

"On last Wednesday, September 1st, it was freely circulated on the streets that A. T. Morgan would make a speech that night, having for his subject the color line. From what we learned every one of both parties were invited to attend. As the shades of night set in, the beating of drums was heard for the purpose of rallying negroes to hear the speech of their Lord and Master, A. T. Morgan. The crowd gathered at Wilson's hall and the speech began. The crowd was largely negro, with some ten or fifteen of our leading and most law-abiding citizens. At the beginning of his speech, Morgan invited all who disbelieved anything he might say to rise and answer him. During the speech a negro named Robinson rose to answer Morgan when the negroes began to yell, 'put him out, he is a Democrat.' Two or three white men then rose and said, 'he shall speak and we dare anybody to put him out.' There was some excitement and pistols were drawn, but finally things were quieted. Morgan then resumed his speech and spoke in loud praise of the board of supervisors when one of the gentlemen present answered that the board was of no account. Morgan then said, 'why, there is Captain Bedwell (one of the board), you can have no objection to him.' Harry Dixon stepped forward and replied, 'Bedwell is a d—d thief.' A negro then said, 'that's a lie.' Mr. Dixon called out, 'show me the man who said that'; walking in the direction of the voice. When he neared the spot a negro named Jim Clark drew his pistol and fired, the ball striking the floor. A general firing followed, in which R. B. Mitchell, a white Republican and deputy sheriff, was shot. He died at 3 o'clock the next morning. W. H. Foote, the negro circuit clerk, was wounded. The negroes were panic-stricken, some going down the steps head foremost, the greater number with Morgan and his brother, to set the example, went through the second-story windows."

The account in the *Vicksburg Herald's* special reported "terrible excitement."

"A courier was dispatched for Capt. H. L. Taylor to come, on account of apprehension growing out of the convention riot. He has just arrived with a hundred men, all mounted and well armed and we are now prepared for any emergency and to suppress further violent demonstrations. Morgan wrote a note from his hiding place to Col. Garnett Andrews, asking protection of the white men. All is now quiet, but we can't tell what is coming."

The two Morgans and all the white negro leaders, as in previous riots, fled and took sanctuary in the State capital.

The news of such occurrences, and the object lesson of the resistless might of the long repressed white men that attended them, added to the general excitement of the campaign, and to

the popular confidence in its successful issue. Canvassing was active all over the State—every speaker of prominence was filling speaking appointments. The speeches of Colonel Lamar, especially, was attended by great crowds, and the enthusiasm and determination of the people reached a pitch rarely, if ever, equalled in the State. A number of his North Mississippi meetings were addressed by Gen. John B. Gordon, also. The effect of their speeches were most inspiring. The best men of each county were nominated for the legislature. The *Aberdeen Examiner* thus closed a tribute to the Monroe county ticket:

"It required the extremity to which our people were reduced to produce such a ticket. It needed the last turn of the screw of oppression to nerve the voters up to their best effort, and on Monday they met as patriots, ignoring all claims of friends, nominated a ticket to win, and to be proud of after we do win."

This was the rule throughout the State.

The Yazoo disturbance occurred on Wednesday, and the following Saturday, September 1st, there was a far more serious clash in the adjoining county of Hinds, at the town of Clinton, on the railroad from Meridian to Vicksburg.[7] A large negro meeting was being held, at which Judge Amos R. Johnston, a Democrat and one of the most prominent citizens and most prominent lawyers of Jackson, had been accorded the right of speaking. A few white men were in attendance as lookers on, and a quarrel broke out between them and some of the negroes at some distance from the speaker's stand. Blows ensued, and then "some one fired a shot which was followed by a general firing and a stampede." The half dozen white men involved in the dispute ran for their lives toward the town, a mile distant. Emboldened and infurated to the murder point, a hundred negroes pursued them. Martin Sivley, of Raymond, firing his pistol as he fled, was overtaken, murdered and mutilated—stripped of his clothing and a finger on which there was a ring cut off. Frank Thompson, also of Raymond, was killed in the chase, a mile further off. In the pursuit the negroes passed the

[7]See Brough's "The Clinton Riot," in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* VI, 53-63.

house of Charles Chilton, whom they shot and killed in the presence of his family. Nearly every one of the white men who escaped with their lives were more or less badly wounded. In the fray on the speaking grounds four negroes were killed and two mortally wounded. Terrified by fear of the consequences to ensue, the vast negro audience fled in utter disorder. It was literally a race of every man for himself and "the devil take the hindmost." As the word went through the crowd of "white men being killed," panic seized on the lately most boastful. There was no white force, no organization, anywhere in striking distance, but so fright-crazed was the multitude, with the apparition of the avengers in their minds, that very many did not even take time to unhitch, or to hitch up, their mules. Clinton was only ten miles from the military post at Jackson. And for that sanctuary the panic-stricken crowd fled, headed, it was published, by the carpetbag speaker, H. T. Fisher. It may well be understood how this affair added fire to the campaign flames all over the State.

The clash and shooting had broken out while Judge Johnson was closing his speech. He was left alone on the stand and without a single one of the audience, white or black, for company. Apprised of the trouble, companies of armed men proceeded to the scene from Vicksburg and Jackson with all dispatch by train. The Vicksburg men were first to arrive on the scene, and with their arrival the fears of the whites of the village and surrounding county disappeared. Parties were sent out, by whom several more negroes, as many as a dozen perhaps, charged or suspected of participation in the riot and the murder of the white men, were summarily killed.

While there is no obscurity in this Clinton clash, the following is quoted from the *Jackson Clarion* as a true picture of the situation:

"The primary cause of the race difficulty at Clinton was the spirit of hatred and distrust of the white, which has been industriously cultivated by the carpetbag class of Republicans. Its immediate origin will be understood from the two accounts of the commencement of the fight, published in another column. In either case the negroes were the aggressors. One account is that the young white men, after Judge Johnson had concluded his speech, retired over a branch in a small clump of trees some three hundred yards distant, to refresh themselves with a

glass of spirits when they were intruded on and assailed with violence by a posse of negroes. Another account is that a negro resented a side remark of a young white man, upon something the Radical orator had said, but which was not loud enough to interrupt the speaker; that the white man, to prevent disturbance, was carried rapidly from the crowd by his companions down the hill, to which point he had been followed by a crowd of raving, cursing negroes, and that the fight began. The conduct of the negroes, in the pursuit and brutal murder and mutilation of Messrs. Thompson and Sivley, and the atrocious murder of Mr. Charles Chilton, who had no connection with the difficulty, in his own yard and in the presence of his family, while he was trying to do kindness to the fleeing negro women and children, recall scenes of the negro butchery of whites in San Domingo."

More than one life was saved by the daring of a single man, Capt. W. A. Montgomery of Edwards. He was in Clinton waiting for a train to return home, when rumors of the conflict at the barbecue grounds, a mile distant, came in. With the ready valor which distinguished him as captain of a scout company during the war, he secured a shotgun and a horse and, alone, rode rapidly toward the scene of action. He met the few fleeing whites with the armed negroes in close pursuit at the railroad crossing, and just in time to interpose himself between the two. The negroes were put to flight by a discharge of both barrels of his shotgun in their faces.

At the request of Chairman George, of the Democratic State committee, Capt. Frank Johnston, a prominent citizen of Jackson, was requested to make a thorough inquiry into the facts, the causes and circumstances of the riot. He joined with him in this labor two others of like ability and probity, one a Republican and one a Democrat, Judge E. W. Cabaniss and Chairman S. M. Shelton, of the Hinds County Democratic committee. They took a volume of evidence, all of which clearly shows that the negroes, estimated at 1,200 or 1,500, went to the meeting in an exceedingly inflammable and dangerous mood. It required but a spark of provocation to carry them beyond control of their leaders and precipitate an attack of wolfish ferocity and cowardice on the forty or fifty white men who were present. The report of the gentlemen above named is quoted:

"Gen. J. Z. George, Chairman, Etc.:

"At your request we have received the statements of many persons who witnessed the disturbance at Clinton on the 4th inst., which we now

hand to you. We think the following general history of the matter is fairly sustained by these statements: An invitation was extended to all persons to attend the Republican meeting and barbecue at Clinton. There was a joint discussion accordingly. Perhaps sixty or seventy-five white men went to the grounds. There were from a thousand to twelve hundred negro men present. As many perhaps as two or three hundred men were armed with pistols. There were probably twenty or thirty white men with pistols, perhaps no more than ten or fifteen of whom participated in the fighting. Many of the negroes went to Clinton anticipating a fight, armed for it and eager as a pretext for a quarrel between a white man and a negro.

"There was nothing in the evidence to show that there was a drunken man, white or colored, on the ground. The inception of the quarrel is enveloped in obscurity. But in the light of subsequent action of the whites, we do not regard the merits of this altercation as important—at all events, there was an altercation between a white man and a colored man. The former left the negro, joined a small party of white men a distance of about one hundred yards from the speaker's stand, followed by the colored man. This party of whites consisted at first of four or five, soon increased to about eleven; was slightly scattered in small groups. Some colored man cried, 'A fight!' and called to the colored men 'to come on.' Immediately orders were given to rally, the drums were beaten and the cry of 'kill the white men' was raised, and a large mob of negroes, armed with pistols and knives and brandishing clubs, pressed down on the whites. The crowd of negroes numbered possibly as many as three hundred. The whites about eleven in number, gave way and, retreating about forty yards along a little branch, asking the negroes to stand back and keep the peace, saying they desired no difficulty.

"The negroes in their front pressed on, saying, 'Kill them.' After retreating this distance another crowd of negroes came down on them, coming from an opposite direction. After the altercation commenced and before the firing began, the whites made every effort to avoid a fight. About this time a pistol in the hands of Mr. Thompson (a white man) was discharged accidentally, the ball going in the ground at his feet. The first shot was fired by a colored man, which struck Mr. Wharton. The firing became general. The whites stopped and fired vigorously. Two negroes were killed and four or five wounded, and the crowd in front of the whites retreated. The white men then began leaving the ground in small parties. The negroes were rallied by one of their number, who told them not to let the white men escape, and the pursuit began, separate crowds of negroes pursuing in different directions. In the retreating groups of whites, Siveley and Thompson (white) were overtaken, killed and their bodies mutilated. Charles Chilton was killed in his own yard. Captain White was captured, shot and stabbed and beaten, and left for dead. Rice, Wells, Wharton, Robinson (all white) and perhaps several others, were wounded. It was subsequently reported that the negroes threatened to attack the town, and consequently during Saturday night between four and five hundred armed white men were concentrated in Clinton, from Vicksburg, Jackson, and the county, for the protection of the town. During Saturday and Sunday morning perhaps seven or eight negroes who were supposed to be the leaders in the affray, were killed by the whites, who were indignant at the murder and mutilation of their white friends. Early Sunday morning most of the white men returned to their homes, a few remaining at request of the mayor, during Sunday night, as a police force. By Monday morn-

ing, as the mayor of Clinton states, the town and neighborhood were quiet and peace was restored.

"In justice to the memory of Martin Siveley, we deem it our duty to state that he had no connection with the commencement of the disturbance. His conduct was beyond reproach. He was an estimable gentleman, and a superb and exemplary citizen. We make this statement to correct an unjust rumor that he was the originator of the difficulty."

The origin of the fray was of little moment—but that it was a spark to a combustible atmosphere it would have amounted to nothing. But it came as a vent, a volcanic eruption of the lava heat of white man hate that had been generated in the negro by his carpetbag teachers. At Clinton the sight of a handful of white men at the mercy of hundreds inflamed the latent blood thirst beyond control. From the bloody clash there flamed up a spirit of resentment and revolt on the part of the white men, spreading all over the State, that was resistless. Operating equally as strongly to depress and intimidate the negroes, the Clinton riot may be said to have been absolutely decisive of the campaign.

Clinton is only ten miles from Jackson. Hundreds of negroes fled there instead of going to their homes. That the riot added greatly to the excitement of the campaign all over the State, may readily be imagined. It multiplied the embarrassments of Ames to a degree that enlists pity. Almost in sight of the capitol dome and in hearing of the drum beat of the Federal garrison, the official power of the State was challenged and flouted by his defiant and armed enemies. It being reported that he had promised to arm a force of negroes, a white detail was posted around the capitol, where the arms were stored, until the governor had them removed to the United States barracks. It was published in the radical paper that "Governor Ames was told by certain gentlemen of Jackson that his life should pay forfeit if he issued arms to negroes." September 7th he issued a proclamation stating that—

"Persons had formed themselves into military orgnaizations in various sections of the State, without sanction of law; that such organizations are moved to the support of each other from point to point, without the approval or consent of the peace officers of the counties and without knowledge or authority of the State government; whereas, such organi-

zations have overthrown civil government in Yazoo, set it at defiance in Hinds and created distrust and fear in Warren and other counties, causing the loss of many lives and compelling many persons to flee from their homes, etc. Now, therefore, I, Adelbert Ames, governor of the State of Mississippi, do hereby command all persons belonging to such organizations to disband forthwith and I hereby require all citizens to render obedience to assist the peace officers in the promotion of peace and order and enforcement of the laws of the State."

But the time had passed for paper proclamations to command respect or inspire fear. How little it restrained the aroused temper of the whites will be read in the following from the Hinds county chairman to the chairman of the State committee:

"CLINTON, Sept. 6, 1875.

"Gen. J. Z. George:

"There can be no peace in Hinds County while the radical leaders are at large. We are fully prepared to meet the issue and accept no terms which do not assure their surrender or removal from the county. We do not recognize the Ames government, but will have no conflict with Federal authorities.

"S. M. SHELTON."

"For the Executive Committee."

"Answer—

"We advise to avoid a difficulty by all means.

"J. Z. GEORGE,
"R. N. SMITH."

The governor's proclamation was thus noted in the *Greenville Times:*

"There are in Greenville two armed organizations, whose object is the preservation of peace and the protection of persons, such as Ames styles 'military.' They were superinduced by the incendiary harangues and riotous actions of his brigadier-general, and his satellites. It is suggested that the governor instruct General Gray to see that they are 'disbanded forthwith.'"

But while the governor's proclamation was not taken seriously —the spirit of resistance, the determination not to longer tolerate carpetbag and negro misrule having passed far beyond the limits of control by the State authority—the appeal to the Federal government, which the governor made the same day, was a different matter. In this communication the same recital of the conditions in the three counties of Hinds, Yazoo and Warren, contained in this proclamation, was stated. It closed as follows:

"After careful examination of all the reports I find myself compelled to appeal to the general government for the means of protection which

every American citizen is rightly entitled to. I do not now make formal application under the constitution of the United States, but telegraph to know if you can and will regard the proclamation issued by you last December on the application of the legislature. If it is still in force, I will at once make application in accordance with the provisions of the constitution.—Adelbert Ames.

The president's response to the application of Governor Ames was awaited with utmost interest. On the 9th of September Gen. J. Z. George, chairman of the State executive committee, wired Attorney-General Pierpont as follows:

"There are no disturbances in this State, and no obstructions to the execution of the laws. There has been an unexpected conflict at a public meeting, but everything is quiet now. The governor's call does not even pretend there is any insurrection against the State government as required by the provision of the revised statutes of 1875, page 103. Peace prevails throughout the State, and the employment of United States troops would but increase the distrust in the good faith of the present State government."

The attorney-general was waited upon by a delegation of Mississippi Republicans, including Senator Bruce, and counseled to comply with the governor's request. Other Republican leaders of prominence took issue with that view. Senator Alcorn personally advised the attorney-general against the use of troops. "All confidence," he asserted, "in the integrity of the State government has been destroyed. If called on, the better class of citizens would sustain the State authorities in putting down disorder." All that Senator Alcorn charged against Ames and his government was fact. But the motive of the charge was transparently factional.

Probably the most damaging blow to the case of insurrection Ames sought to make out at Washington, was delivered by W. H. Harney, the negro sheriff of Hinds County, who wired the attorney general September 10th:

"Perfect quiet prevails throughout Hinds County. Peace officers are not to be prevented from exercising legal authority. The good citizens will assist me in the discharge of my legal duties if needed."

This dispatch was sent from Edwards, a town twenty-five miles distant from Jackson. Returning to Jackson the same day, and reporting what he had done, Harney was bulldozed into sending another dispatch:

"I did not send the dispatch of this morning. There is no protection for the life of colored men in my county. The telegram sent was presented by a captain of a military organization there. For safety to myself and property I could not do otherwise.

Publication of these telegrams was followed by publication of a statement from Capt. W. A. Montgomery, a brave ex-Confederate soldier and a citizen of perfect probity, in which he stated:

"Knowing that Governor Ames was using every effort to get the aid of Federal bayonets to perpetuate his rule of ruin in Mississippi, and knowing, too, as far as Hinds County was concerned, the people were quiet and peaceable, both white and colored, engaged in their usual avocations, knowing also that Sheriff Harney had just passed through the county from Jackson to Edwards, and that at all points he had received information from citizens, both white and colored, that everything was peaceable; knowing this, and believing that Sheriff Harney could not be made a tool to keep up excitement when there was no necessity for it, I wrote the following dispatch (the first one of the two above quoted) and carried it, unarmed and unattended, to where Harney was conversing with twenty or more colored men. Showing it to him I asked 'if he could not conscientiously sign it.' He read it and replied, 'I might not have been able to sign this a few days ago, but can now conscientiously and honestly,' and started to place his signature to it, when I remarked to him, 'If you don't think you are perfectly justified in so doing, do not sign it.' He signed it, saying, 'If there was any appearance of force he would not do it.' As I started off, he remarked, 'Captain Montgomery, if I hear of a murder in any part of the county could I get your assistance in making an arrest?' My answer was, 'Yes, sir, with as many men as you desire.'"

With Captain Montgomery's statement he published the following significant letter from Harvey:

"JACKSON, MISS., Sept. 11, 1875.

"W. A. Montgomery, Esq.:

"Dear Friend,—While I am quite willing to assist the white people of our county all I can, and thought I was promoting their interest, but captain, on arriving at Jackson the populace was aroused. My own people wanted me to resign. They were indignant and declared I had sold them. I hope you will assist me to extricate myself, as I am sure you would not intentionally place me in any personal difficulty. I am really tired of this state of things and am almost willing to do anything for the good of the whole people."

This letter indisputably proves that what the radical leaders least desired was that the Washington authorities should be shown that there was no state of insurrection in the State.

The eagerness of the white people to avert the interference

of Federal troops with the political affairs of the State was the best possible guarantee against violence. A number of proffers of aid to the governor was published. The following was quoted:

"NATCHEZ, Sept. 12, 1875.

"To Governor Ames, Jackson, Miss.:

"The undersigned are authorized to tender you the services of 125 men, armed with Winchester rifles, to aid you in suppressing insurrection, in any part of the State. They are ready when called, and will only ask that the State furnish rations and transportation.—Signed.

"WILL T. MARTIN,
"GEO. W. KOUNTZ,
"J. FLOYD KING,
"PAUL D. BOTTO."

The names signed were perfect guarantee of good faith. But the offer, while curtly acknowledged, was not accepted—the calculations of Governor Ames were cast on a different line. But the tide was turning against him at Washington. September 10th the attorney-general wired him as follows:

"United States forces have been put in readiness. No orders have yet been given them to move and no proclamation has been issued. Everything is in readiness. Is there such an insurrection against the State government as cannot be put down by the State military forces, assisted by all the other powers of the State government and the true citizens?"

As the reply of the governor was not prompt, the above questions were repeated the following day. The response was as follows:

"Jackson, Miss., Sept. 11th. The necessity which called forth my dispatch of the 8th inst. still exists. Your questions of yesterday repeated, asks for information which I gladly give. The violence is incident to a political contest preceding the pending election. Unfortunately the question of race, which has been prominent in the South since the war, has assumed magnified importance at this time in certain localities. In fact the race feeling is so intense that protection for the colored people by white organizations is despaired of. A political contest made on the white line forbids it. The history of the colored people since reconstruction, and its bearing on the situation at this time and a detailed statement of the trouble cannot be condensed in a telegram. This State has been opposed to organizing a militia of colored men. It has been believed by them that it would develop a war of races, which would extend beyond the borders of the State. The organization of the whites alone, where the issue is one of race, would be equally ineffectual. The most complete protection would be found in the non-interference of the whites. Contradictions will be numerous. So they were last December; but the report of the congressional committee proved the correctness of

my assertions. I am aware of the reluctance of the people of the country to national interference in State affairs; though if there be no violations of law there can be no interference. Permit me to express the hope that the odium that such an interference would cause shall not attach to President Grant or the Republican party. As the governor of the State I made a demand which cannot well be refused. Let the odium, in all its magnitude descend on me, I cannot escape. I am conscious in the discharge of my duty toward a class of American citizens whose only offense consists in their color, and which I am powerless to protect."

While the governor made out a case of extreme party urgency he made no effort to answer the question asked by Attorney General Pierrepont, or rather it was admitted by the governor that there was no insurrection, and no ground for troops to be placed at his use under the constitution. President Grant being absent from the capital the statement of Governor Ames did not receive immediate attention. But, while waiting to hear from the president Mr. Pierrepont wired the represntative of his department, the United States district attorney, at Jackson, for information without delay, of the existing condition. On September 16th final action was taken in a communication from Attorney General Pierrepont to Governor Ames as follows:

"To Governor Ames, Jackson, Miss.:

"This hour I have had dispatches from the president. I can best convey his idea by extracts from his dispatches: 'The whole public are tired with the annual autumnal outbreaks in the South, and the great majority are now ready to condemn any interference on the part of the government. I heartily wish that peace and good order may be restored, without using a proclamation, but if not a proclamation must be issued. And if it is done, instruct the commander of the forces to have no child's play. If there is a necessity for military interference there is a necessity in such interference as will deter evil doers. I suggest the sending of a dispatch, or letter, to Ames urging him to strengthen his own position by exhausting his own resources in restoring order. Before he receives government aid he must accept the assistance offered by the citizens of Jackson and elsewhere. Governor Ames and advisers can be made perfectly secure. As many of the troops now in Mississippi as he deems necessary may be sent to Jackson, if he is deterred by those who offer resistance.'

"You see by this the mind of the president, with which I and every member of cabinet, which has been consulted, are in full accord. You see the difficulties, you see the responsibilities which you assume. We cannot understand why you do not strengthen yourself in the way the president suggests, nor do we see why you do not call the legislature and obtain from them whatever money and arms you need.

"It is the plain meaning of the Constitution and laws when taken together that the executive of a State may call on the president for aid to quell domestic violence only in case of an insurrection when the legis-

lature cannot be called. You make no suggestion even that there is any insurrection against the government of the State, or that the legislature would not support any measure you might propose to secure the public order. I suggest that you take all lawful means and all needed measures to preserve the peace by the forces of your State and see that the citizens of Mississippi, who are largely favorable to good order and largely Republican, have the courage and the manhood to fight for their rights and destroy the bloody ruffians who murder innocent and unoffending freedmen. Have everything in readiness. Be careful to bring yourself strictly within the constitution and laws. If there is such resistance to your State authorities as you cannot, by all the means at your command suppress, the president will swiftly aid you in the suppression of these lawless traitors to human rights. Telegraph me and state explicitly what you want."

There was nothing in what the president and attorney general expressed to comfort Ames. What he "wanted, explicitly stated," was troops at the polls, and this he was denied. Being told to "exhaust his own resources," and then call on Washington was, from his point of view, totally irrelevant. He had no "resources," and "disorders" had ceased. In fact, and this sealed the doom of alien rule in Mississippi. Attorney General Pierrepont's letter marked a halt, or a check, in the Southern policy of President Grant's administration. A number of causes for the change are suggested. The exchange of a corrupt and brutal partisan for an able honest lawyer in the office of attorney general was one. The president was at this time deeply concerned in the exposures of the star route and whiskey ring frauds which fatally involved a number of his close friends, including Secretary of War Belknap; who only escaped impeachment by resignation. These troubles were diversion from reconstruction and an admonition against further taxing the patience of "a public tired of the autumnal outbreaks in the South and ready to condemn any interference on the part of the government." Perhaps more potent in causing the president to turn his thumb down on Ames was that so many of the State Republican leaders had become openly hostile to the governor. They charged up to his poor leadership the desperate state to which the party had been reduced. The opposing faction made much use of the failure of the State convention to pronounce for Grant and a third term, which Ames was accused of having instigated. While Ames denied any hand in this, the charge took root

and stuck; and in spite of the subsequent attempt of the State committee to remedy the blunder.

Whatever the causes, whether worthy or unworthy, the return to the constitution in the use of the army was crucial. To refuse soldiers for the purpose of carrying elections was fatal. It did not take Governor Ames long to decide upon a course of action. If an actual insurrection was a prerequisite to securing Federal armed intervention in State affairs, then he would supply the insurrection. Nothing seemed simpler and surer, than to carry his purpose by organizing and sending out a negro militia force. His intention of bringing matters to such a crisis as would compel the national administration to fall into his scheme was disclosed in the following:

JACKSON, September 18, 1875.

"Brigadier General William F. Fitzgerald is hereby asigned to active duty and will proceed to organize the militia of the fifth division immediately. By order of the commander-in-chief.

A. G. PACKER,
Adjutant General.

JACKSON, September 18.

"In pursuance of special order No. 2, issued by the commander-in-chief, I this day assume command of the militia of the fifth district of Mississippi. "WILLIAM F. FITZGERALD,
"Brigadier General.

Fitzgerald had been an easy convert to Republicanism, and was district attorney of the Jackson district. He was an ex-Confederate soldier, with a reputation for daring which had been sustained subsequently in personal frays. In his reputation thus gained Ames doubtless recognized the right man for the reckless and risky work designed.

There was an effort to arrest the war preparations of Governor Ames, through a writ of injunction, asked of one of the supreme court judges. The petition for the writ alleged that the governor had determined to organize two regiments of militia and that the major general, or the brigadier or adjutant general, was now proceeding to organize such force, and that application had been made upon the State auditor by the adjutant general for the issuance of a warrant for the whole amount of the unexpended $50,000 militia appropriation. The petition asked that the auditor

be enjoined from acting upon this application. Upon the reasons stated in the petition, showing the unconstitutionality of the contemplated proceedings, the writs were granted, and the 18th day of October set down for argument of the same. The fund the petition sought to enjoin had been appropriated in the regular preceding session of the legislature for the purpose to which the governor now proposed to devote it. The complainant in the case was a prominent citizen of Jackson, the Hon. James D. Stewart.

The institution of legal proceedings against the militia fund caused no halt in the governor's preparations. In *The Herald* of September 26th, the muster in at Jackson was announced of two negro companies, both commanded by negroes connected with the Clinton riot, and composed of riot fugitives. It was reported that a company would be sent to Clinton "on Monday." The report naturally caused expectations of trouble. On the Monday stated, however, the governor gave out a contradiction of the report, saying that he had no intention of sending the militia force to Clinton. On the 29th of September the *Vicksburg Herald* stated editorially:

> "Brigadier General Fitzgerald and staff reached this city yesterday from Jackson and the understanding is that their business here is to organize a regiment of militia, five companies of white men and five companies of negroes."

Reciting that peace and quiet prevailed in the State, and that "the organization Ames seeks to establish is a wicked and wanton waste of money wrung from the people by the most onerous taxation," and that "it is in direct conflict with the constitution of the United States and the State, and that it was a wicked attempt to produce disorder and embroil the races, thus affording a pretext for calling upon the Federal government for troops," the young men were urged "to avoid Ames and his militia as they would pestilence." A *Herald* Jackson special of the following day announced the arrival in Jackson of a thousand stand of breech loading rifles with full supply of cartridges and equipment for a thousand men; consigned to Major Allen, commanding United States troops. The special stated:

"It is understood these arms and munitions are to be used in arming the militia. If the militia fails in preserving order, it is said Grant has assured Ames he will send the whole army if necessary. There is no doubt Ames has this assurance from Grant."

There were some hundreds of negro men refugeeing in Jackson, where they had fled after the Clinton riot. They were chiefly of the mob who had massacred the three young men at the speaking. While most of them hastened to their homes, a multitude sought safety in Jackson, ten miles away where there were Federal troops. There was no thought of organization to resist the vengeance all feared. It was from these Clinton fugitives, that were being rationed at the public expense, Ames expected to recruit his militia. The idea of meeting his call by a tender of white companies again came up. It was favored by Brigadier General Fitzgerald, who invited their formation. He published the following order:

OCTOBER 22D.

"To John W. Clingan, Captain Company A, First Regiment Hinds County:

"For more efficient organization you are hereby commanded to go into quarters at once and to go through the regulation drill one hour each day, Sundays excepted, will roll call morning and evening.

"By order of "W. F. FITZGERALD,

"Brigadier General Commanding Fifth Division.

"J. D. BEARD, A. A. S."

Lists were now opened in Vicksburg for enlistments in white companies. But the gulf between the people and the State government was too deep and plain for such a device. It was bitterly opposed, and threatening division, the white company tenders did not materialize.

With such ominous clouds overhanging the State, the executive committee met and issued an address, which was published in the *Vicksburg Herald* of September 28th. Referring to the Clinton riot, it was charged that the governor was seeking to use it "as a pretext for calling on the president for use of the national army to suppress what he was pleased to term domestic violence." The address stated:

"There can be no other reason for this than a wish on the part of the chief magistrate of the State to incite that war which he said would be developed. * * * We regard the present efforts of the chief magis-

trate of the State to put into active service the militia. * * * in no other light than as a deliberate attempt to incite disturbance which he may quench in blood. We deem it our duty to warn you against these machinations and to urge you not to be betrayed into acts of violence not necessary for self-defense. * * * We would not have you abate one jot or tittle of the earnest zeal and determination you have heretofore manifested to rescue our State from the corrupt horde of adventurers and their ignorant and blind allies, who by sowing distrust between the two races seized the government of the State for selfish and unworthy ends. We would rather urge you to work with still greater zeal and with more untiring energy until redemption of the State is secure beyond all doubt. We are glad to be able to assure you that victory is so certain that it cannot be lost except by our mismanagement or failure to carry on the contest to the end, in the same spirit that has characterized it up to the present time. * * * Let us all be animated by the one sentiment that there can be no higher duty than to work faithfully to secure the redemption of our beloved State, unless, perhaps, it is to use nobly the victory when it is won for the common good of all her people and to the injury of none."

The next race riot was in Coahoma County, the home of Senator Jas. L. Alcorn. And, in the irony of fate, it grew out of a quarrel between the senator and John Brown, negro sheriff and colonel of militia by appointment of Ames. The following from the subsequent published account by the Senator explains the origin of the outbreak:

"For the past month one John Brown, a mulatto from Ohio and sheriff of the county, has been making the most inflammatory speeches to the negroes of the county. * * * In these speeches Brown used my name freely, charged that I was a Democrat and old slaveholder, and that no colored man should trust me. I sent messengers and spoke freely to the negroes, urging them not to believe Brown. * * * On the night of October 2d, being called on, I made an impromptu speech to the people at the courthouse, and there, in his presence, arraigned Brown for his incendiary speeches. He denied one of my statements to which I replied with point."

The senator's "point," as stated, was a threat that he would cut Brown's throat if he dared contradict the charge that he was a thief. Brown left the meeting, which was convened for the purpose of nominating a ticket in opposition to Brown's; he being a candidate for re-election as sheriff. As he left he declared he would return with his crowd and denounce Alcorn. True to his menace, Brown appeared with a large force of armed negroes moving on Friars Point, the county seat. What followed is thus told in Senator Alcorn's letter:

"I seized my gun and made haste for the courthouse, and when I reached that spot the front of the advancing column was in full view.

Each and all our white men fell into line. General Chalmers was in the town—had his baggage in hand ready to leave for one of his courts, but he exchanged his saddle bags for the pistol and was soon in command of our little squad. Mr. White, our Baptist divine, was soon on the war path, our forces now numbering seventy-five men."

The action that followed was stated in an account by Gen. Jas. R. Chalmers—who was one of the few white Democrats of prominence who had supported Ames against Alcorn two years before—which is quoted:

"September 26th. We discovered that Sheriff Brown had been making speeches to the negroes, advising them to prepare for a fight, and that he had secretly brought in ammunition. I tried to get him to send his ammunition away, and he refused. I then sent word to the white men to prepare themselves. Saturday night, October 2d, Governor Alcorn made a speech to the bolting Republican meeting, and proved that Brown had swindled the State out of $4,735. Brown sent out for his men to come in armed, and said he would assault Alcorn. I sent for the white men to come in to defend him, and about sixty came in to Friars Point early. About 11 o'clock 300 armed negroes came to the edge of the town. I ordered them to disperse and gave them ten minutes to get out of town. They fell back a short distance and were waiting for reinforcements. After waiting several hours and sending three repeated orders to disperse, we marched on them. They were posted in the roads at the mouth of a lane half a mile long. We charged on horseback. They all fired their guns before we got in range and then fled like rabbits into the woods and cane brakes. We then marched from point to point in the county where they assembled and they fled on our approach. We were bushwhacked twice and had one man mortally wounded and one slightly. We killed two negroes and wounded five that were caught with arms and pardoned all the rest. Sheriff Brown fled the country. The negroes swear they will kill him if he returns. All quiet now."

The affair affords a withering satire on the platform on which Senator Alcorn had presented himself six years before to the people of Mississippi, as the Moses to lead them out of their political wilderness. Many bitter comments appeared in the State press, upon his changed position with the negroes. The *Columbus Democrat* had the following:

"We wonder if Senator Alcorn still thanks God that the negro has his heels on the neck of the prostrate Southern Democracy. Crimes, like chickens, always come home to roost."

Shunned by the white people on whose abasement he rose to prominence, Alcorn now found himself repudiated and forced with his family to seek the protection of those he had reviled and persecuted. It had never occurred to him that he would

be the victim of the hatred he implanted in the negro against his own class. Only a few days before he and his family left their plantation home in fear of violence and death, an interview was published in a Washington paper, which contained the following:

"Mr. Alcorn lives upon a plantation, where he employs 1,000 negroes, and he says he never has had any trouble with them. Among them there is no end to secret societies, and every night they are marching and counter-marching all over his plantation. Still, these concentrations have never caused him or his family to fear an insurrection."

And only a few days after, his family had fled from their home in terror, and he was one of an armed body shooting a negro mob into subjection and chasing his county sheriff out of the State!

Closely following the Coahoma troubles was a fray in the adjoining County of Tallahatchie. It, also, grew out of factional strife. A negro leader named Blackwell became involved in a quarrel with Sheriff Alcorn, a nephew of the senator. In the firing that ensued, in Charleston, the county seat, Alcorn's deputy was fatally wounded and Blackwell was shot to death. Trouble was also threatened, and the governor called on for arms, from DeSoto, another northwest county. In Tunica, which lies between DeSoto and Coahoma, the following rule was adopted by the "Tunica Debating and Benevolent Society":

"It shall be the duty of the president of this society to care for the interests of his race, and for this purpose he shall organize the members of this society into military companies, procure arms and equipments, etc., have them ready to take the field at any time, on twenty-four hours' notice."

In the meanwhile the warlike preparations of Ames continued. October 9th radical leaders of the anti-Ames faction again called on Attorney General Pierrepont to protest against troops being placed at his disposal. By the associated press account they represented that,

"Much of the prevailing disorder was from the inevitable demoralization that attended all great revolutions, and especially such an upheaval of the social and political institutions of the South; that the immediate causes which have led to the recent outbreaks are attributable to extreme partisan measures by the Democratic party, but especially to the utter want of statesmanship and the weak and corrupt government under Governor Ames who had prostituted his office for promotion of his personal

interest. * * * The attempt at this time, on the eve of an election to organize the State militia will be extremely hazardous and liable to result in bloody revolution; that under the circumstances the militia cannot be organized, etc.; that Congress having failed at its last session to provide suitable protective legislation looking to the enforcement of the constitutional amendments, the late insurrectionary States must adopt a policy which will meet the exigencies; that the Republican party must adopt a conciliatory policy which will commend itself to the intelligence and wealth of the State; that the recent troubles in Mississippi were of a personal nature and are now over; Federal troops should not be sent to Mississippi. If they were sent the negroes will elect to office men who are plastered with indictments for various misdemeanors. If troops are not sent the legislature would be lost to the Republicans, but the successful candidates will be lovers of good order, law abiding citizens and patriotic legislators. The reverses will be overcome in the presidential election next year."

The attorney general "assured the delegation—State Attorney General Harris, United States District Attorney G. Wiley Wells and ex-Senator Pease, then postmaster at Vicksburg—of his cordial sympathy and support, and that he would go with them to see the president.

Commenting upon the call for Federal troops, the *New York Herald* said:

"It looks as though Governor Ames had been firing a hole through his own hat. His call for troops, on the ground that he is not able to maintain the peace is, unfortunately for him, an old trick of his, and it looks as if he had now tried it once too often. For the attorney-general is going to find out if there is really an insurrection and whether the governor has really made an effort to preserve the peace, before advising the president to put Federal troops under his orders. We hope Mr. Pierpont will make a thorough investigation and we tender him the evidence in *The Herald* to-day of one who left his wife and six children on a plantation six miles from Clinton. If the two races were actually in hostile array, as Governor Ames pretends, white women and children would be removed from a country where there is a very large preponderance of negroes. The same informant reports that when he came to Clinton (two days after the riot), the colored people were in the fields picking cotton, an essentially peaceful occupation. * * * Governor Ames has probably overshot his mark. Instead of calling out troops it was his duty to go to the scene of the riot and take care that the sheriff did his duty in preserving the peace and arresting offenders. Instead of that, we hear that the sheriff, a colored man, ran away from Clinton as soon as he heard the shot fired and was two days afterward in Jackson in consultation with the governor. Meantime, so incapable are the county authorities, with the governor back of them, that the duty of policing the disturbed district seems to have been surrendered to the private citizens. The whole affair shows clearly the vicious consequences of Federal interence in the local police of the State. Governors and sheriffs shirk their duty and fling it on Federal troops, and naturally in such a state of things, demagogues use their power to command Federal troops, not to

put down such a state of things, but to prolong and create them. Governor Ames is not fit to have the control of Federal troops while he is ever ruler of Mississippi."

The *New York Tribune* called on Governor Ames to "stop yelling for troops long enough to meet the charge that he incited the Vicksburg riot. If he still believes that the blood of twenty-five or thirty negroes would help the Republican party, now is the time for him to say so."

Simultaneously with this move upon his rear, Ames took action of an exceedingly alarming character—action that could only have been prompted by a spirit of vindictiveness and desperation. With the election less than a month away, he foresaw that his party was doomed to defeat, involving his own ruin and disgrace. He perceived that the only way to avert the deliberate sacrifice of his administration by the national power, was to provoke that most dreadful of all conflicts, a race war; and thus force the president to intervene with troops. As matters were drifting he realized that he had nothing to lose and everything to gain. He was mindful, in his desperate straits, of the attorney general's letter of September 16th, in which the president called on him "to exhaust his own resources"—that Federal troops could only be provided "in case of an insurrection." In that event "the president will swiftly aid you in the suppression of lawless traitors to human rights." As a last resort he determined to force an insurrection, and adopted the movement best calculated to secure one. Of the negroes at Jackson, who had been organized and drilled under the protection of the Federal garrison, a company was detailed to march from Jackson, through Clinton and to Edwards. They were to convey 200 stands of arms and issue them to two companies to be formed at Edwards. In command of this force was a notorious and turbulent negro, Charles Caldwell. His company was composed of refugees from that affray.

The effect of the Caldwell "practice march" upon the public temper, already strained as it was, may be imagined. It was a veritable torch that barely failed to fire the conflagration on which Ames had staked his cause. Hearing of the approach of the negro invaders, the white men at Clinton and along the line of

march prepared to meet and drive them back to Jackson. This would have been as easy as the provocation was great. A mere demonstration of armed resistance would have led to a slaughter, and this was what was desired and designed—it would have created a condition meeting the terms on which the president had announced he would interpose with Federal troops. The plot was transparent. It was thwarted by the urgent and patriotic appeals from General George, and other Democratic leaders, against resistance to the negro force. The wire was kept hot all day to Clinton and other points on the line of march, appealing to the white men not to molest Caldwell unless outrage was attempted. Of course, there was no such attempt—the negroes moved as though they felt they were skating on mighty thin ice. Before entering Clinton a white flag was sent in and all "hostile intent" disavowed. Nevertheless, so extreme was the feeling that only the influence of the wiser and cooler heads averted an onslaught that might have ruined the Democratic prospect in the election and given Ames a new lease of power.

The following shows how little the white leaders dreaded a collision:

"EDWARDS, October 9th.

"Gen. J. Z. George, Jackson:

"We learn here that Caldwell, with 100 armed men, are marching on our town. What shall we do—submit or resist? We are able to do either. Answer immediately.

"W. A. MONTGOMERY."

The *Vicksburg Herald,* a leader throughout the State in bold courses, spoke as follows at this crisis in the issue of October 10th:

"This community was a good deal excited yesterday by reports from Jackson that Governor Ames had sent a company of negro militia, commanded by Charles Caldwell, to Edwards, as an escort for some two hundred needle guns to be distributed to a couple of negro companies. This is so wholly unnecessary that it can only be regarded as a deliberate, wicked and wanton attempt to produce a collision that will cause blood to flow. Ames has grown desperate, and safe himself under the guns of a Federal garrison, would goad our people to madness and bring about the much dreaded race conflict. We are glad to say that thus far his efforts to force the white men to disturb the public peace and thus give him another opportunity to call upon President Grant for Federal troops has been a signal failure. Our people have stifled their indignation and sternly resolved not to gratify the wretch who hates them. If any disturbance occurs the white people will be so clearly in the right, so unmis-

takably on the defensive, that the world will approve their action. If a difficulty is forced upon them those who have brought about such a state of affairs will do well to look to their safety. No negro will be harmed when it can possibly be avoided, but upon the white scoundrels who have sought to confront the races in bloody strife, the severest punishment should be inflicted."

To single out the carpetbaggers for victims in case of a race war was the plan commonly agreed upon throughout the State. There is no doubt that this sentiment made for peace, in the campaign.

Caldwell did not tarry at Edwards long. The *Jackson Clarion* of the 11th thus noted his return, with the company recruited:

"Two companies of negro militia, 190 strong, under Charles Caldwell, arrived here from Edwards this morning, having marched through by land. Rumor says the next movement will be to Vaughan's Station and march from there to Yazoo City."

A Jackson special of October 12th to the *Vicksburg Herald* read as follows:

"Ames' negro militia are encamped here, and from the general appearance of things a stranger would conclude that the war is still going on. It is said Ames intends to send two companies to Yazoo County to reinstate Morgan as sheriff. They march by dirt road. It is hardly likely they will go and return without a collision."

Editorially *The Clarion* thus commented on the situation:

"We have good reason to believe that Morgan, on second thought, has declined to avail himself of the escort of negro militia into Yazoo County, for which he first applied on the false and frivolous pretext that the functions of his office of sheriff has, or will be, interfered with, but which was, in fact, a scheme to take part with the army of the State in his private quarrel with parties in Yazoo to whom he imagines he has given mortal affront. It is possible, therefore, that no attempt (it would be but an abortive one at that) will be now made to execute this part of the programme. This, however, may be a surmise, and there is no telling what a day may bring forth. The invasion of Yazoo County by a lawless pretended militia, armed to the teeth, would be such a trespass as will justify the citizens of the county in repelling it for the protection of their lives, their property and their sacred altars."

It was the common feeling at this juncture; the atmosphere was charged with it; that there was no "telling what a day might bring forth." As the campaign drew near its close it was the burthen of the thinking and planning of the central party organ-

ization, which at the campaign's opening strove to incite the whites to activity, to repress, to keep steam below the point of explosion, which would have been ruinous as a justification of intervention from Washington. This was the source of General George's constant dread—a dread that grew very acute when Ames sent Caldwell and his negro company on a march through Hinds County. That was the match intended for the magazine. The following telegrams, taken from "Documentary Evidence" in the subsequent congressional investigation of the election, betrays the plot—first to use the negro militia to provode a collision, to be followed by a call for Federal troops, and an election under the coercion of the bayonet:

"September 27th.

"Brig. Gen. S. V. Brent, Chief of Ordnance, Washington, D. C.:

"Can you furnish 1,500 haversacks on our quota? At what price?

"A. G. PACKER,
"Adjutant General."

"October 2d.

"To Brent:

"Sir—I am directed by his excellency, the governor, to transmit the enclosed requisitions for ordnance and ordnance stores on the quota of the State of Mississippi.

"October 1.

"To the Commissary of Subsistence:

"Can you furnish 5,000 rations of pork or bacon and bread, under authority granted by secretary of war, for the militia of the State? If possible ship immediately to William Noonan, superintendent of Penitentiary.

"PACKER."

"October 5th.

"Lieut-Col. O. S. Lee is hereby ordered to proceed to New Orleans to make any and all arrangements the N. O. A. D. & C. R. R. Co. for transportation of troops and supplies of Mississippi State militia.

"PACKER."

"October 4th.

"To W. R. Steward, Kirkwood, Miss.:

"Yours of the 3d received. General orders are issued for the State militia to enter the active service, and your offer will receive due consideration.

"PACKER, *Adjutant."*

To the sheriffs of certain counties the following circular letter was addressed:

"September 24th.

"Sir—I am directed by his excellency, the governor, to inquire if any militia organizations are needed in your county to assist the civil officers? Are there any threats from the opposition that, in your judgment, will be carried into effect; and, if so, will it be possible to hold a peaceable, quiet election?"

The governor's plan of invasion of Yazoo was undoubtedly predicated upon the counsels of his chief adviser, in the existing emergency, the notorious A. T. Morgan. Smarting under the sting of his ignominious flight from Yazoo County, he very naturally favored extreme and revengeful measures. He wrote the governor a long and dolorous report of the situation, the conclusion of which is quoted:

"I hesitate to recommend to your excellency any remedy for these evils. One thing I regard as settled. Reason and order will no longer prevail. Nothing but the presence of a sufficient force will avail to restore civil government and preserve peace and liberty of all classes. In the midst of the terrorism excited by the presence of a large majority of the arms-bearing white population of this county, I cannot recommend the calling out of the militia. Were your excellency to organize it from the armed whites, their organization would but the better fit them to carry the county at the approaching election, peaceably, if possibly, but by force if necessary. If the colored people only be called out, I fear the effort would be seized as sufficient ground for open and general insurrection among the whites. However, the negro is a citizen. He is a man. As such he has an equal right with his white neighbors to bear arms in his own defense and in defense of his liberties. I feel sure he is not only willing but ready if he may be permitted to do so in a lawful manner. I recommend the calling out of the colored militia only as a last resort. There are seven companies of white men, fully armed and equipped, in this county. In conclusion, allow me to say that if your excellency will keep off the armed organizations in other and adjoining counties, such as Warren, give me authority to do so and protection until an organization can be effected, I can organize a sufficient force in this county to command peace, punish violators of law and insure tranquility. I cannot do it otherwise. I desire to say further that United States troops can be of no service in protecting the colored people in their rights as voters or myself as sheriff unless they break up the armed companies in Warren and Yazoo first, and arrest and hold for trial the turbulent leaders and inciters of them."

After placing his signature to this ambiguous bill of grievance, this long-winded as well as long-range sheriff-warrior annexed another "conclusion":

"In conclusion, I beg to submit to your excellency that this uprising

has the sympathy of the most intelligent and wealthy citizens of the county. That the object of the assault on the meeting on Wednesday night was not to kill colored men, but was an assault on the leaders of the Republicans. I believe no shots at all but were directed at either Mitchell, Foote or myself, possibly one or two others. It was proclaimed on the streets, 'Spare the niggers' so long as they behave themselves."

A. T. Morgan, commonly known by the name of his mulatto wife "Highgate" Morgan, did not figure further to any extent worth noting, in Mississippi history. But the sheriff's office, which he stained his hands in blood to possess himself of, was the scene of yet another murder while he was its official incumbent. Becoming dissatisfied with the deputy who represented him while a fugitive, Morgan directed him to turn the office over to another person. Instead of obeying this instruction the deputy that was, shot and killed the deputy that was to be, in the courthouse, a few days before the election.

The militia excitement went no further. It became known that the men of Yazoo County were resolved upon meeting the militia at the border of the county, and, at whatever cost of consequence, resisting the proposed march to the county capital. Whether knowledge of the bloody reception awaiting this force occasioned the sober second thought, or in response to wiser counsels, the invasion of Yazoo was called off. The resolution of the men of Yazoo, and their readiness to meet the menace of negro invasion is indicated in the following from the *Yazoo Democrat:*

"Last Monday evening the startling announcement flashed over the wires to this place from Jackson that A. T. Morgan would leave that city, by special train, for Vaughn's Station, with a white and negro militia company, for the purpose of invading Yazoo County and reinstating himself as sheriff.

"A county meeting was immediately called to take such steps as were necessary to meet the emergency. The meeting was held at eight o'clock Tuesday morning, in the spacious cotton-shed at the landing. Of its proceedings it is unnecessary to speak. The determination depicted upon every countenance showed conclusively the one sentiment of our people.

"At 11 o'clock on that day a company of thirty-five men left our city, commanded by the intrepid Capt. Henry M. Dixon. (The company was greatly augmented after it left.)

"This company was joined at Benton by Capt. H. L. Taylor and his gallant boys; Dr. B. R. Holmes' Dover and neighborhood company; Capt. Jesse E. Bell's Satartia company, commanded by Captain Johnson; Capt. Samuel Griffin's Piney and Teheva Creek company; Captains Smith's and Stubblefield's Benton companies, and Captain Mitchell's Deasonville—as brave a regiment as ever met an enemy—all under the command of that gallant and experienced soldier, Capt. H. L. Taylor.

"The companies were distributed as follows:

"Captain Dixon's command, then numbering fifty, was ordered immediately to Vaughn's Station, as an advance guard, and reached their destination about twilight. They were re-enforced early Wednesday morning by Dr. Holmes' company of fifty men.

"Captain Mitchell's company was stationed at Deasonville.

"The balance of the command rested at Benton—the whole numbering between eight and nine hundred men, all mounted and variously armed.

"Headquarters were established at Deasonville with couriers at proper stations.

"Drs. J. P. McCormack and J. D. Burch, surgeons of this city, were at the stations with Captain Dixon's company; Dr. R. C. Henderson at Deasonville, and Dr. J. W. C. Smith at Benton.

"Never was a command more properly distributed, under better control and more eager for the fray than these brave and gallant men last Tuesday night and Wednesday. And we venture the opinion that had Morgan and his invaders attempted a landing in our county, Vaughn's Station would have been known in the future annals of Mississippi as the bloody ground."

The disturbed and threatening situation led to pacific conferences. October 12th *The Herald* published a communication from "some friends at Edwards." After sketching the recent troubles, it said:

"We feel constrained by the duties we owe to peace and humanity, to our God, our families and our country, to call upon our fellow citizens throughout the State to lay aside for one day all business, however pressing, to meet us in Jackson on Wednesday that we may unite our appeals to the governor to redress our grievances and recall from our midst the bayonets which have become a terror to our non-combatant community."

The call struck a responsive chord. *The Herald* of October 14th stated that,

"Thirty citizens went to Jackson yesterday morning. At the different stations people of Hinds County joined the party until it was swelled to 200. The party marched to Angelos hall and organized with Dr. Rice of Clinton as chairman, and H. H. Moore of Vicksburg as secretary. General George there stated that a committee, consisting of himself, Gen. Robert Lowry, Messrs. T. J. Wharton, Joshua Green, John Robinson, David Shelton, R. L. Saunders, H. Hilzhim, W. L. Nugent, Frank Johnston and J. C. Pietti had waited on the governor and received the proposal from him that he would immediately disband the militia, have the guns turned over to the (State) military authorities for safe keeping, stored in close proximity to the companies to which issued, and that a detail of United States troops should be stationed at each place—Edwards, Clinton and Jackson—for guarding them, and in the event the United States government declined to allow the troops to act in the matter, then the guns should be guarded by guards, one-half selected by himself and one-half by General George; and further, that the governor would take no steps in which the welfare of the State was concerned without consultation with General George and other prominent citizens."

This agreement was reduced to writing and Governor Ames disbanded his militia, the order for the invasion of Yazoo being countermanded[8] The people of the State expressed a profound sense of relief in such conclusion of the peace conference

The president, through Attorney General Pierpont, was a close observer of events in the State in the time that the peace seemed imperiled through the militia excitement. A special agent of the department, C. K. Chase, was commissioned to proceed to Jackson, for observing and reporting upon the situation. He arrived upon the scene of action while feeling was at white heat. Calling on Governor Ames, it was not strange that he reported visions of plots and murders. But he also saw the hopelessness of the governor's position and urged him to disband his militia and make terms. His counsel came at a time when Ames, despairing of help from Washington and realizing that his militia was a broken reed, was more than receptive to it. And with Mr. Chase as intermediary, the peace treaty was pushed *con amore*. After it was held the settlement was thus reported to the attorney general, by Governor Ames:

> Through the timely intervention of Mr. Chase a bloody revolution has been averted. The condition of affairs which preceded the Clinton riot grew worse from day to day and assumed gigantic proportions under the feeling of hostility to the militia I was organizing. The danger became apparent to all, and in the interest of peace and a fair election, an understanding was had to the effect that the opposition was to do all in their power to preserve peace and I suspend operations with my militia. I have full faith in their honor and implicit confidence that they can accomplish all they undertake. Consequently, I believe that we shall have peace, order and a fair election. I write this letter chiefly to thank you for sending here a gentleman who has succeeded in inspiring us all with confidence and who, by his wisdom and tact, has saved the history of this State from a bloody chapter."

While the national administration probably had decided in the beginning to risk the loss of Mississippi to the Republican party rather than share any of the responsibilities of Governor Ames in creating a condition that would warrant the coercive use of Federal troops, the president was probably as little inclined to

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[8] See Johnston's "Conference between General George and Governor Ames" in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, VI, 65-77.

be held responsible for this loss. And decision of that question, it may be taken for granted, was the subject of the cabinet meeting called to consider the letter of Ames before the following answer, dated October 23, was mailed from the attorney general to the governor:

"Your's of the 16th came duly and yesterday I presented it to the president, who read it to Senator Bruce; and I also presented it to the cabinet. I delayed answering it until the meeting of the cabinet, and I have to say that the course you have taken meets the approval of the president and of the cabinet, and that they are each and all much gratified that your judicious course in making this settlement and producing peace without bloodshed proves that you have acted wisely. I sincerely hope that those with whom you have negotiated will keep their agreement, and that you will have a peaceful election. You may be assured that to produce this result without calling out the Federal troops will redound greatly to your credit throughout the North. You will be advised of the preparations made to aid you in case the opposition violate their honor and break their faith. You may feel assured that this department will always be ready to aid you in any lawful way to preserve order and give to every citizen the right to vote as he pleases."

Gall and wormwood probably expresses the feeling of Governor Ames in reading the attorney general's congratulations. The president had refused to do what he had asked—the interposition of the military which had saved alien government in Louisiana and Arkansas was desired in Mississippi and Ames saw his downfall impending and imminent in consequence. There was little that was personally comforting to him in the reflection that the game of reconstruction was simply played out—that it was fate that marked him for the sacrifice. H. V. Redfield, the famous correspondent, was again on the scene, he had sketched with such a graphic pen the year gone by. He saw Ames and wrote that:

"The governor has but faint hopes of the Republicans carrying the State. He takes a gloomy view of the black man's future."

Redfield thus clearly stated the case of Mississippi:

"Is reconstruction a failure? It is certainly undergoing a fiery test in Mississippi. * * * The plain truth is the colored man is not able to stand alone. The government like this in Mississippi is but a house of cards, liable to tumble over the first adverse wind unless propped from the outside. The breeze has come and over the canvas will go unless the general government comes to its support. And if it comes once it must come again and again as long as Mississippi is a State and has a majority of negro voters. And it makes no difference how great that

majority. A government supported by a hundred thousand negro votes is just as weak as one supported by ten thousand. Adding to their numbers does not add to their strength."

Of the negroes he said:

"A negro leader told me if the Democrats carried the legislature it would be by intimidation and Grant would set it aside. He would not believe me that Grant had no power to do that. I told him it would be much better if negroes would split and vote independently like white people. 'No, sir,' he said, excitedly. 'I will die before I vote any other but the straight Republican ticket. Talk about a black man voting for a Democrat! Any black man who will do that ought to be burned alive.' Here he became very much excited and swore like a pirate. 'I would be the happiest man in Mississippi if the government would give me the power to go up and down this State and cut any G—d d—d nigger's throat who pretends to be a Democrat. Hanging is too good for them. I want to cut their throats. I want to see them dead and damned.' And he actually reflected the feelings of the mass of negroes for the few who affiliated with the Democrats. They are partly blinded with rage and nothing but fear of the whites restrains them from exterminating blacks who joined the Democrats."

This will give a glimpse of the difficulties confronting the white people of a State with a large negro numerical majority. Negro clubs in Washington County adopted resolutions declaring that any negro voting the "white man's" ticket was to get a hundred lashes.

From the series of letters in *Documentary Evidence,* of the subsequent congressional investigation, the following are quoted as an illustration of the mental confusion and travail of the negroes, as it dawned upon them that the reconstruction order on which they had fixed their trust in the perpetuity of their freedom was passing:

"MACON, August 26, 1875.

"*To Hon. Governor-General Ames:*

"Sir—I will address you of this county. This county is now in an uprow. * * * Governor, you have stop the Ku Klux in this county 1 time, and Governor you will have to do it over again. For the poor black people is layin out in the woods, afraid to come home. * * * Yesterday the was about, 25, or 35 or 45 whites come from Louisville, coming for to kill us poor darks. We poor black people have not got any arms, but Governor I know you have it in your power to stop the whites from coming out the county into our county killing we poor blacks. Or you have it in your power to furnish us arms.

"Yours truly,

"E. W. WALKER."

This supplicant wrote again, September 5th:

"Hon. Gov. Ames:

Sir—I received your favor dated August 28, saying:

"'Mr. E. C. Walker, Macon:

"'Sir—I am directed by the governor to say in reply to yours of the 26th inst. that the subject of which you wrote is now under consideration.

"'Respectfully,

"'TRAVIS RHODES.

"'*Private Secretary.*'

"Well sir; now we turn to the Webster's Dictionary to see what is the meaning of 'consideration'; con-sid-er-a-tion. 'Act of considering; serious; thought; patience; reason.'

"Dear Sir, the col'd people was just beating the drums at the club meeting place, where they always beat the drums, at Bill McConner's place, and theair fourth Governor. I say consideration have no reason, and Governor if you don't do something about this point there will be some blood spill. Now Governor, please address me 1 more time if you please sir."

The following was from Port Gibson:

"Hon. A. Ames, Governor of Mississippi:

"Dear Sir—The undersigned, Republicans, deem it necessary to say to your excellency, in plain terms, that from very recent developments yesterday, and to-day of the belligerent spirit of the democracy of this country, it has become evident to us that we can have no fair election here unless a force, adequate to preserve the peace and to secure to Republicans the right to vote untrammelled, is sent here. Madness seems to rule the hour in the camps of our Democratic opponents. On yesterday they attacked a Republican procession on its way through town, breaking through it at various points, assaulting prominent Republicans therein with curses, drawn pistols, and in several instances proceeding to absolute blows, and by almost every species of hostile demonstration, endeavoring to excite the Republicans to retaliation in order to produce a conflict in the streets of the town; failing in this, because of the forebearance of the Republicans, which was carried to the extreme limit and would, under other circumstances be denominated cowardice, they mustered to the number of about one hundred and fifty foot men and between three and four hundred horsemen, armed with breech loading rifles and breech loading shotguns, with the latest improved Smith & Wesson pistols of the Russian pattern, loading at the breech, with cartridge boxes, with bayonets and any amount of fixed ammunition, and proceeded to the ground where the speaking was to be held. The most of them seemed to be inspired with a sort of mad, wild enthusiasm, and acted and talked in the most belligerent and warlike manner, forming repeatedly in line, shouting to the Republicans and daring them to 'come on,' calling them cowardly hounds and using other opprobrious epithets, daring the white Republican speakers to speak, breaking out of their ranks and rushing into the scattered crowds of Republicans with presented weapons

and other hostile demonstrations, and in every way endeavoring, as was apparent to us, to bring about a conflict. There were a number of conservative citizens present whose sole object in being there seemed to be to prevent this conflict by restraining the more impetuous, but they seemed to have but little power to control them. Feeling that a conflict was otherwise inevitable, the Republicans being unarmed, Mr. Stiles, the chairman of the Republican executive committee of the county, who had just arrived on the grounds, advised them to disperse without any attempt at speaking, which they did.

"JAMES PAGE and others."

From Coldwater, Tate County, the following lurid bulletin was sent October 15th:

"Governor Ames, Jackson, Miss.:

"Dear Sir—I wrote you yesterday regarding the movement of the rebel Democrats. I do not understand their objects, but have overtaken them in their hellish intentions. Their object is to capture the ammunition and arms that they are expecting to be sent to DeSoto County. I have an eye to their plans. I was up all night last night watching their movements. The colored people are unaware of anything regarding their plans. I have not said a word to any of them, for they are not in a condition to do anything, and some of them are easily excited, and if they should happen to say anything it would give the Democrats an excuse to commence their slaughter. I say but little to anyone regarding the condition of affairs, but I am on the lookout all the time, and will keep you posted the best I can of their movements in this part of the country. Those that were here from DeSoto County yesterday went to see if the arms were in the express office. It is their intention to capture them before they get to DeSoto. If you should send them, don't send them without a strong guard. I could write to you all day regarding their movements, but a hint is sufficient to a man that has had as much to do with them as you have. I had rather die than see them get possession of this State again. I will write to you every few days. I send this by registered mail; I think the best, for half the mail agents and postmasters are traitors, and will not do to trust too far. If there is anything that you want me to do and to attend to, let me know I am at your service.

"Yours respectfully,

"S. W. GORE, P. M.

"Coldwater, Tate County, Miss."

"YAZOO CITY, November 1.

"Governor Ames:

"I beg you most fully to send the U. S. soldiers here. They have hung six more men since the killing of Mr. Fawn; they won't let the Republicans have know ticket for they are going to have war here to-morrow; the Democrats are going to have vote themselves, and tell Republicans they shant vote; now, they are going to have war here to-morrow; send help; they told Mr. Richmon if he went to the telegraph office they would hang him; help, help, help, help; soon as you can. Please send help; the troops (stay) away until they hung all the men. * * * This Dixon and Colonel Andrews hung Patterson, and Dixon's scouts helped to do it. Now, you see what going to be done

to-morrow; you had better listen to what I say; send the troops, and when you send them and don't dispatch, just send them as soon, no matter whether it is after the election or not; if you don't test the election or not, send; fighting commense just as I were closing; 2—two, killed; we would have carried this election, but you keep listen at the white people; pleas send troops and test the election; help; send troops and arms, as soon as possible; listen at nothing the white people say, they are killing all the time, and tell all the niggers and make them say they are going to vote the Democratic ticket. Please send aid and test the election, we will have to do it, we would had a Republican ticket; the said if we had a convention they would hang every one; close place I am in. Send help, help, troops. I would telegraph but they won't let Mr. Richmond go in the office.

"HOUSTON BURRUSS."

A different note sounds through the following:

"To the Republicans of Madison County:

"A meeting of the Republican executive committee of the county was held in Canton, October 27th, to consider a proposition to run a compromise ticket in this county at the coming election. At this meeting some leading Republicans were present and expressed their views regarding the proposed compromise. A resolution was offered and carried with but one dissenting vote, that the Republican committee be advised to enter into arrangements with the Democratic executive committee to run a compromise ticket. The committee accordingly, on the same day, entered into the following agreement with the Democratic executive committee: 'It is agreed between the executive committees of the Republican and Democratic parties of Madison County, Mississippi, that the county ticket of Madison County, at the election to be held November 2, A. D., 1875, shall be composed as follows, etc.

"The Democrats on their part specially pledge themselves that all members of their party that may be named by the sheriff, shall, on election day, attend the polls during the whole day and act as deputy sheriffs, under the active control and direction of the deputy sheriff of the precinct; that every person shall be allowed to vote as he sees fit without any molestation or interference on the part of any person. The Republicans pledge themselves to the same. This arrangement was entered into by us, solely in the interest of peace, to prevent scenes of riot and bloodshed which are taking place in other counties of this State; to allay the then prevailing excitement and to restore peace, harmony and good feeling among all classes of citizens of our community. Prominent colored Republicans from different sections of the county urgently requested us to adopt this course, and expressions of gratification have poured in upon us from Republicans at the plan adopted by the executive committee."

It is evident from this correspondence that Governor Ames had written to partisans throughout the State, asking advice on two questions—one, the use of the militia for carrying the election, and the other a call for the legislature. The following reply was

received from Sheriff Alcorn, of Tallahatchie, dated September 27th:

"Gov. A. Ames, Jackson, Miss.:

"Dear Sir—Yours of the 22d inst. to hand, contents noted; in reply will say that I think it would be very unwise to organize the militia in this county. It would undoubtedly cause bloodshed. The people of this county are more quiet during the last five months. President Grant's letter, 'I will instruct the commander of the forces to have no child's play,' I think has caused the calm that now exists. I do not wish to organize the militia, but hope to get more able protection if necessary."

"EDWARDS, Sept. 23d.

"His Excellency, Adelbert Ames:

Sir,—Having just received your communication, I hereby reply that there are insurgents here that ought to be punished. There is no man here who will serve a warrant upon any insurgent. Give me a company of Federal soldiers and the equipage of a militia company instanter, and I will bring the lawless to justice. * * * A military company is being formed here and express a preference for my appointment as captain, which I hereby solicit.

"A. L. SCOTT."

"I approve the above heartily.

"W. H. HARVEY,
"Sheriff."

Sheriff Parker, of Amite, wrote September 13th:

"I do not know what your ideas may be, but I am sure that unless we have Federal protection, and that at once, we are gone by the board, and worse than that, there will be an immense amount of bloodshed. I intend to do all in my power to preserve the peace and make arrests without bringing about conflict. And when it comes to that, I shall think it my first duty to keep out of it. Our party is not composed of fighting material."

October 24th Parker wrote Ames:

"Your valued favor of October 21st is at hand. Everything here is exceedingly warm. Every trick is resorted to by the blood-letting 'God and morality' democracy. I think we have them in the toils though, and with our present arrangement we can win another Republican victory in Amite. They do beat the devil, though, in their mean, low, murderous tricks, and it seems a mystery to me that Providence does not remove them, root and branch."

But the "present arrangements" slipped a cog, and true to his statement, when the atmosphere became sulphurous Sheriff Parker and the other carpetbag officials vacated the county. They

left the night after the election. In a lengthy letter to Senator B. K. Bruce, January 6, 1876, Parker wrote:

"The committee of fifty, called the central committee, met at Liberty every Monday for a month previous to the election. They passed outrageous resolutions, one of which was to take myself and other county officers and tar and feather us; another one to hang me. These measures were prevented by a small (white) militia force under Gen. H. P. Hurst, who was appointed by Governor Ames, and did his duty faithfully and fearlessly. * * * On election day everything passed quietly except at one precinct where armed men came in from Louisiana and dispersed the voters by firing promiscuously and creating a panic in which they were joined by some of the militia. General Hurst, who was present at the precinct where we anticipated trouble, states that it is his belief that some of his militiamen fired at him. As long as the general could control the militia the county officers were safe, but when the test actually came they were useless, in the case named above, turned against their commander."

Not all the carpetbaggers were so averse to bloodshed as Parker. Senator Geo. C. McKee, congressman from the Vicksburg district, speaking in Chickasaw, to help out a friend, said:

"Now let me say it to you in charge to vote at this next election and carry the Republican ticket through if you have to wade through blood, death and hell to do it."

He was followed by Chancellor Frazee, who declared that he had fought four years for the Confederacy and was now ready to fight again to carry this election.

In Chickasaw when they saw the election was going against them the Frazee fighters tried to stampede negroes by spreading the story that white men were going to kill them at Okolona, and the voters were thus caused to disperse.

Stiles, the Claiborne leader and district attorney wrote:

"This thing will not be tolerated long, surely, because the United States government is not going to submit to it long. You have your constitutional rights, and surely the government will see that you are protected to exercise this right; and it is better for you to submit for a little time, because the government certainly comes to your aid."

The following was from a noted carpetbagger:

"Holly Springs, Miss., October 11, 1875.

"Gov. A. Ames:

"Dear Sir—I think you should ask at once for United States soldiers. We may be sure that we can have no election without their presence all

along the Alabama line and in many other counties of the State. I think it would be utterly impossible at this time to get the legislature together. A meeting of the legislature at this time of excitement and bitterness would be, in my opinion, very dangerous; I would not think of attending, although I am willing to sacrifice my life for the support of the government, and would do anything reasonable to uphold your administration, but no good could be hoped from the legislature, and it would be impossible to get a quorum together.

"Very respectfully,

"N. S. GILL,

"Representative Marshall County."

While there was a general direction of policy of the Democratic campaign of 1875, no general account of it can comprise the course of its events. For every county was a center of action that was largely determined in each by its own circumstances and environments. Hence there was large scope for initiative. Letters to Ames from the county leaders, subsequently read before the Senate committee to investigate this election reflect the varied tactics adopted in the different counties, as well as a tangled and almost a tragic situation. That the environments that beset and bewildered him may be understood some are quoted. One from Sheriff H. W. Lewis, of Lowndes County, October 29th, contained the following:

"Everything in this and adjoining counties is up to fever heat. The cannon thunders forth every night. The brass band accompanies the Democratic speakers, together with about fifty hot-headed young men, and assassinations and bloodshed are openly encouraged. Our voters are very much overawed, and we fear that we cannot get out more than one-half of them. If troops be sent here, even a 'corporal's guard,' it would act like magic, and we would sweep everything in this part of the State. As it is it looks as though we should lose everything. Colfax (Clay) County is thoroughly under the heel of ruffianism. The mere passing of a company of Federal troops up the railroad would have a salutary effect and go like wildfire through the counties adjacent and bring the intimidated voters to the polls. What we most fear is a raid from Alabama. It is proposed by the Democrats to have a large gang of them march through the county the day before election."

It was a common practice of the Republican local leaders where they perceived their defeat impending, to have registrars decline to act as election officials, or to order the negroes not to vote. That policy was taken with a view to having the election set aside through charges of fraud and intimidation. In Kemper County where the taxpayers had been most outrageously robbed

for years by the Chisholm-Gilmer ring, the two Republican members of the election board disappeared, after hiding the books on which the voters were registered. Learning that the books were in the keeping of Sheriff Chisholm, a native white leader of the negroes, a man of violent and vindictive temper who kept Kemper County in a stew until he was killed by a mob some years later, he was waited upon on election morning by Mr. A. G. Ellis and other citizens and the books demanded of him. He was told that the lists were essential to an election and that they must be given up or they would be taken, even if a fight was brought on. The books were then delivered up and persons to hold the election appointed as provided by law, when the officials whose duty it was to do it failed to act. The white men also took possession of fifty guns of negroes who had armed and gathered to back up their white leaders. Then the negroes were ordered to go to their homes. Their guns were restored to them after the election. Chisholm stated in a letter to Governor Ames of November 3d, that the Republicans had decided to hold no election. In this letter he wrote for advice, saying:

"If we can't correct this course we can quit and get somewhere in a State not ruled by an ignorant mob. Write me, governor, immediately. I am not hacked, but determined as ever. I want now to have some arrangement whereby we can reach these villains."

In Monroe, another populous black county in the eastern part of the State, where the campaign had been most spirited, a race conflict in Aberdeen seemed imminent on election day. The radical leaders construed the law to permit the voters of the whole county to be massed and voted at the county site. That course was ordered for the purpose of removing the negroes from local influence. In that section of the State more than in the western, intimidation of negro Democrats had been met by the retaliation of threats of not giving employment to Republican negroes. To meet this situation it was sought to draw such employes away from the voting places where they would be in contact with, or under surveillance of, their employers. The white leaders learning of such schemes waited on their

opponents and protested against the concentration of such a body of negroes in Aberdeen. Gen. Reuben Davis, Judge Lock Houston and Capt. Eugene Skyes, who composed the delegation of white leaders, insisted that the law would not bear such construction—that only in certain specific cases could a voter cast his ballot elsewhere than in his own precinct. The controversy reached the point where the Democrats asserted that their views of the law must prevail—that on account of the danger of a race collision if the town was inundated with negroes from all over the county, every man must vote in his own precinct.

To carry out the notification that only voters resident of the Aberdeen precinct should vote there, men of a local volunteer company, commanded by E. O. Sykes, were posted at the ferries of the Tombigbee to turn non-residents back. Others were stationed between the jail and the courthouse to prevent the issue of arms to the local negro militia company, which were stacked in the jail. An old cannon, which was fired off several times before the polls were opened, was located so as to command the approaches to the courthouse voting places. Under such precautions, made necessary by the schemes of the Radical leaders, the danger of a clash passed narrowly by.

The campaign was unattended by further race collisions, or events of State importance. In a published interview prior to election day, Governor Ames expressed himself in a spirit so pacific and acquiesent that it was read as tantamount to a confession of defeat. He said:

"It is generally conceded that it has been the purpose of the extremists to carry the election by force. Be this true or not, Republicans in various parts of the State have felt serious apprehension of violence at the approaching election. But I am happy to say I think a change for the better has taken place, and in consequence of the understanding of leading gentlemen of the Democratic party and myself every effort will be made by the leaders of that party to preserve peace and secure a fair election."

There was little apprehension of rioting, after the militia had been disbanded. Abandonment of expectation of carrying the State and securing a Republican legislature was read in the governor's expressions. Republicans grew more dispirited and

Democrats bolder and more resolute in the determination to rid the State of the carpetbag incubus, as the election drew nearer. The prevailing spirit in the black counties was voiced in the following, from an editorial in the *Greeneville Times,* three days before the election:

"We are now nearing the close of our arduous efforts to overthrow carpetbag rule with all its attendant infamies and scandals upon popular government. The canvass in our county has resembled a prosecution before a jury more than a political struggle. The radical leaders were given to know at an early day that the issue would be openly made upon their corrupt official records and not their Republicanism. And from that day they have shunned public meetings as they would the plague. There has been no more withering comment upon the reconstruction governments, than that those seeking their reform have had to arraign official criminals before the public instead of the courts. The canvass has, therefore, been a veritable hue and cry for all honest men to join in. We are struggling against a combination of criminals and unscrupulous men, backed by official power and imbued with desperation. Let none of our people falter in such a struggle. No other community in the State has been so shingled in by official plunderers; in no other has corruption been so hedged around by judicial protection. * * * If the people's ticket of Washington County does not succeed in the manly, righteous effort for redress, in desperation they are nerved and prepared to accomplish their object through other means. Last fall a majority of the taxpayers refused payment of taxes. If the People's ticket is not elected next Tuesday, if the ticket representing the past infamous county government is not defeated, all landowners will resist payment of all taxes. Legal resistance will, when exhausted without giving results, be succeeded by such protection as that afforded by Winchester rifles and other peace-makers. We have obeyed the tax-making power beyond the perversion of it to plunder and theft. Further submission amounts to a subversion of the fundamentals of society. Rather than submit to confiscation our taxpayers will avail themselves of the last resort of revolution."

A spectacular incident of the campaign in the black belt was the appearance in it of the famous Kentucky abolitionist and Lincoln's ambassador to Russia, Cassius M. Clay. Many negroes of Bolivar and Washington Counties knew of his abolition speeches before the war, made in the Kentucky Blue Grass region at the risk of his life. They were dazed when he took the field for the overthrow of the Mississippi Republican government. His speech in Greenville a few days before the election was a long remembered event. He engaged in the campaign at the request and in the behalf of his nephew, Col. Green Clay, who was leading the crusade for political purification as a candidiate for representative in Bolivar county, of which he was a citizen and planter.

No other morning in all the history of the State ever dawned so full of mingled expectancy of hope and activity, with dread as that of the election of November, 1875. In the black counties anticipation was tinged with anxiety over what the day might bring forth. The entire white manhood was keyed up, however, by a resolute determination to signalize the November ides by redemption from reconstruction government. Under this inspiration the victory at the polls was complete and sweeping. Only the twelve counties of Coahoma, Tunica, Bolivar, Issaquena, Leflore, Sunflower, Madison, Jefferson, Adams, and Wilkinson, on the western side of the State, and Oktibbeha and Noxubee in the east, gave majorities for Holland, the Republican candidate for secretary of state. And of these Madison, Bolivar, Oktibbeha and Noxubee, through fusion elected Democratic representatives. A few negroes voted the Democratic ticket; a good many, from fear of bodily injury, or of the policy declared in some counties of refusing employment to those who voted the radical ticket, remaining away from the polls. In some counties the ballot boxes were manipulated and the vote as polled changed. It was either that or a more violent recourse, for the decree had been registered that the carpetbaggers must go. At the polls, in Port Gibson, there was a race fray. In the interchange of shots one negro was killed and the rest stampeded. There was a riot at one Amite precinct. In Columbus there was a more serious clash. Here feeling was raised to fever heat. On the night before the election the town was fired while a Democratic torch light procession was forming. The torch was applied simultaneously to half a dozen or more houses. "Then," read the account in the *Columbus Independent*, "patience ceased to be a virtue and the most conservative men became extermists, and the desperation of madness accounted the next morning for four dead negroes and two wounded as the forfeit of diabolism."

It is not possible for those who did not live under and through reconstruction shame and misrule to comprehend the intense and infinite feeling of relief and joy, that ensued upon the end of it all. In the Delta section, with its sparse white population,

the yoke had borne heaviest and most galling. The river front counties were so isolated that they had no "touch of elbows" to inspire resolution. Greenville, with a population of about one thousand, was the only town west of the Yazoo river. The back country was almost an unbroken wilderness. Literally the Delta white people had to tread the wine press alone; to work out their own salvation unaided and unsustained by being in reach of aid from any quarter of the State. Without telegraph or railroad communication, the extent of the outrages, of the robbery and misrule to which they were subjected was little known abroad. The following from the *Greenville Times* issue next succeeding the election expressed the sentiment that then prevailed:

"It is finished. Under the animation of a most profound feeling of public relief and gratitude we announce the end of the rule of plunderers in Mississippi. The full penalty exacted by our conquerors has at last been paid, and a wearing weary one it has been. Once again Mississippians take their place among free people. When we look back over the history of the past few years, under the iron rule of the basest and most despised of tyrants, and weigh the moral tortures and sordid oppression we have borne, the sufferings and anguish of the war sink by comparison. But we will dismiss that side of the picture, and rejoice in the bright prospects of future freedom and prosperity. In all the State no county has more occasion for rejoicing than Washington—no county has achieved success over such obstacles and odds. We had thought in summing up the election results to refer to individual merits in the great fight for local self-government. But there is no room for distinction. All did well their parts—not one planter, merchant or other white citizen failed to attend the polls and do his full duty."

The chairman of the State committee, Gen. J. Z. George, issued an address, which is quoted from, as follows:

"The People of Mississippi: The Democratic conservative executive committee congratulates you upon the glorious and decisive victory which you have achieved in the election which has just taken place. Upon the result of that election depended the destinies of the State for many years to come. The issues involved were above all considerations of finance, currency or the elevation of favorites, however deserving, to power. They were no less than the existence and perpetuation in this State of a government possessing the power of protecting life, liberty and property. Misrule had reached a point at which there must be reform or anarchy, a return to the paths of constitutionalism or the installation of force. Under the circumstances it could but be, that the interest of the canvass should be intense, and the excitement great, and the joy at its success unbounded. But notwithstanding this, the committee have just ground for congratulating you on the fact that they are able to announce to

the world that the election was peaceable and orderly, and that your conservatism and love of order prevailed over all temptation to violence. The pledge of a free people to prevent the peace has been found more efficacious than the repressive hand of power. It now remains for us to be moderate in the hour of triumph and magnanimous to the defeated including those whom we may regard as the chief architects of ruin. The committee urge this moderation and magnanimity as due to the character of the people of Mississippi and as a fit tribute to the Giver of all Good who hath enjoyed them."

While all was gladness and rejoicing with Democrats, some of the defeated died hard. Some now hoped that success of the "revolution" would move the president to action. The following letter is cited from *Documentary Evidence:*

"MACON, MISS., November 3, 1875.

"Gov. A. Ames, Jackson, Miss.:

"Dear Sir—We have lost Noxubee county by intimidation from Democrats. We have five thousand Republican voters against one thousand Democrats. The Republicans can present a petition of five thousand legal voters that the election has been carried by intimidation and coercion by Democrats. We propose to assert liberty of American freemen in another election. We look to you and President Grant to redress our wrongs. Will see you in a short time. I want a general conference of the Republicans of Mississippi, to meet at Jackson in a few days, one or two leading Republicans from each county. We must do something, if to call the legislature together and declare the election void. Five thousand colored people in this county dissatisfied with the result of the election. We want to know if the government is going to protect them in their liberty. If not, will the government colonize them? If not, will the government put them on the block and sell them to the highest bidder and let the proceeds go towards paying off the national debt?

"Respectfully your obedient servant,

"W. M. CONNOR,
"Sheriff."

"MACON, MISS., November 6, 1875.

"Gov. A. Ames, Jackson, Miss.:

"Dear Governor—I yesterday copied a letter for Captain Connor to you, and I know that it reflects the sentiments of the entire Republican party. I am demoralized for the first time. You know that I went through '68 and '69, and was in the hot portion of the State. If I was with you I could tell you a thousand things that the Democracy resorted to in this election never thought of before. Will the government let these colored people go back into a worse condition than slavery, and let the lives and money lost go for nothing? If it does, then I hope that my brother, who sleeps at Andersonville, will come back and stand by the heads of those in power. These things must be attended to.

"Yours in haste,

"T. J. REED."

By the full returns the Democrats were shown to have elected

four of the six congressmen. In the second, or Holly Springs district, where no nomination was made by them, the Republican, G. Wiley Wells, who was opposed by Ames, was elected by Democratic support; support he received in spite of the Ku Klux persecutions of which he had been the chief instigator. In his case resentment gave place to policy, which was patriotism. The legislature was listed as follows:

SENATE

Democrats	24
Republicans	13

Of the latter only five were negroes.

REPRESENTATIVES

Democrats	96
Republicans	21

Of the latter ten were negroes. The majority of W. L. Hemingway, Democrat for State treasurer—the only State office for which the election was held, was 30,000.

So signal was the defeat of the Radicals and so great their demoralization, that there was no talk of contest by the defeated candidates. There were only hopes that in some way, the national government would intervene and annul the election. The *Jackson Pilot,* the State organ of the defeated party, thus closed its after-election comment:

"The State has been lost to the Republicans through the intimidation policy commenced by the Democrats at the very start of the canvass. Whether the result will hold or not has yet to be determined by the proper tribunals. We are of the opinion that there are serious doubts about it."

In an interview with a *Vicksburg Herald* reporter, Governor Ames said that from almost every county in the State he had received information that "this complete revolution had been wrought by unfair means, of both fraud and intimidation." In

reply to an inquiry if he "would interfere or attempt to set any of the elections aside," he said: "Most assuredly not; I could not if I wished." Asked if the candidates would contest, he said: "I think not generally. If the defeated congressional candidates contest, it must be before a Democratic Congress; if legislative, before a Democratic legislature; and if county officers before the courts." In the interview the governor showed plainly that in the defeat of some of his party candidates he found grains of comfort.

Immediately after the election there arose a discussion in the press of the impeachment of the governor. This was not so much out of the wish for his conviction, richly as this was merited, as the imperative need of getting rid of him and receiving full control of the State government. In all counsels and consideration of establishing the new order of white rule, his personality appeared as an obstacle. The new situation was one in which he had no fitting place, and it was hoped that Governor Ames would perceive this and take himself away from a State in which he had no associations, ties, or interests to bind him. Talk of his impeachment was precipitated through a well meaning but wholly ill-advised resolution adopted by a meeting of citizens of Holly Springs, and which read in part as follows:

"*Resolved,* That we desire that Governor Ames will persevere in the measures of retrenchment and reform heretofore recommended by him, and calculated to lighten the people's burden; and to hereby respectfully request our representatives to give him their confidence and support in all matters of State policy designed to advance the true and permanent interests of the State; and furthermore, as the sense of this meeting, it is right that the past be forgotten and that the chief executive, the legislature and all others in office act henceforth in union and harmony."

The offer of this olive branch struck no responsive popular chord. It was looked upon as ill-judged and ill-timed at least. In complying with a request for publication of the resolution, the *Jackson Clarion,* edited by the Hon. E. Barksdale, declined to "express any opinion calculated to forestall the action of the people's representatives in arraigning Governor Ames for his numerous repeated and flagrant violations of the constitution to the great detriment of the State." The editorial continues:

"It was one thing to give him credit as we freely do, for carrying out

in good faith the peace compact with the citizens and refraining from unconstitutional and revolutionary measures that would have wrapped the State in the flames of civil war; and quite a different thing to pass over without impartial and fearless inquiry his violations of that instrument. This is no occasion for sentimentalism nor time-saving expediency. It is for the representatives of the people to whom the whole subject has been remitted to decide. We will abide their verdict—but will not consent to forestall it."

Throughout the State there was a predominant spirit of condoning the negro's share in the misrule of the six years preceding, and for singling out their carpetbag teachers for the scourge. In an address by the executive committee of Washington County this spirit was made the guide in declaring the policy of the new government. This address proclaimed:

"It is all important that confidence be fostered by justice tempered with mercy to all of our colored fellow citizens. We are most earnest in the desire and endeavor to teach them that Democrats are not the monsters that they have been maliciously and falsely taught to believe. And we pledge our political and personal faith that their rights, civic and political, shall be in nowise curtailed; that their liberties are as secure under a Democratic as a Republican administration. But we hold the carpetbagger in our midst as directly and intensely damaging to our political and material welfare. We welcome all good citizens of whatever nationality to a peaceful home in our rich country. But to the political adventurer, who has neither honor nor principle, we offer nothing but the back of our hands."

Left to themselves the negroes would have been well content to subside into the political desuetude which they afterwards did. But this was not to be. A national election was pending and the proof was yet to be made that the State had not only regained self-government but that it could not be counted in the choice of a president through the negro vote. Enough white Republicans tarried in the State for a nucleus of resistance and discontent in each black county. The Federal court officials, the district attorneys, and marshals, implanted and exercised a power that was to be dreaded. The stock argument to preserve political organization among the negroes was that all of the dreadful things they had been taught to expect under Democratic rule would surely happen if a Democratic president were elected. Most unfortunately this appealed to the fears and distrusts of the negro, prolonging his political activities and the consequent dangers of race conflict.

While the negro masses generally showed only a sullen discontent in the result of the election there were gatherings or demonstrations of resistance in certain localities. In Issaquena county, near Rolling Fork, the situation grew so serious that the white men of the vicinity, in that and Washington County, armed and organized as a posse under the authority of the negro sheriff of Issaquena. The cause of the trouble which culminated December 6th, was not directly political. Though it was because of the excitement that surrounded the campaign, and the ensuing mental unsettlement and mistrust of the negroes that a personal fray was fanned into a flame. The trouble culminated in a conflict between a posse of ninety-five white men, commanded by the Rev. Louis Ball, who was an ex-Confederate colonel, and two or three hundred armed negroes. They made little resistance and were dispersed, five of their leaders captured and executed. The last of the race troubles of this eventful year was at Clinton, and resulted in the death of the notorious and turbulent Charles Caldwell. He had been a leading figure in the September riot. Afterward Ames had appointed him to command the force that marched from Jackson to Edwards, with the apparent purpose of bringing on a race conflict which would result in the intervention of Federal troops. Rebelling against the "peace terms," Caldwell had taken his company out of Jackson without disarming, as was agreed upon. December 30th, according to a *Vicksburg Herald* account, "Caldwell and his brothers came on the streets of Clinton excited and intoxicated and bravadoed the whole town." A fight was provoked in which Charles Caldwell and one of his brothers were killed, after he had shot and seriously wounded Dr. E. G. Banks. Owing to his prominence and great influence, Caldwell's death caused much excitement and rage among the negroes of the surrounding country. In apprehension of attack from them, the mayor of the village called for help from Vicksburg, and a company of armed men was hastily despatched there by rail. But there was no further fighting.

It was feared that the Republican leaders at Washington, the extremists at least, would not accept the result of the Mississippi election. December 1st there was a meeting of the Republican

State committee at Jackson. The meeting was neither full nor harmonious. Leaders of both factions, Ames and anti-Ames, were present and they made the air warm with charge and counter-charge of bad faith. Each accused the other of being responsible for the defeat. They only got together upon a resolution for preparing an address, for "setting forth the manner in which the State was carried in the late election;" "to give notice to the nation," as one of the committee expressed it, "that we were defeated by fraud and terrorism." A resolution endorsing Grant for a third term was strongly opposed by A. T. Morgan, the carpetbag miscegenation sheriff of Yazoo. He was bitterly resentful that he had not been returned to the office, from which he had been driven, by bayonets. In airing his grievance he was asked by Congressman George C. McKee if Ames had not proffered him three hundred State troops for the recapture of his office. To this Morgan's reply was interesting. He said:

> "The fact of the matter was a secret between himself, Governor Ames, General George and the agent for the attorney-general, Mr. Chase. But he would state most emphatically he was ready to go and said so at the time, but that it was considered best to have it appear otherwise; so he told Governor Ames he might say that he, Morgan, refused to go, although the fact was just the reverse."

This story was quite probable, Morgan had proved the courage which shrank not from bloodshed.

While it was a leading topic with the Northern press, in his annual message to congress, President Grant passed over the Mississippi election, or revolution, as it was commonly spoken of, without mention. The message was singular in that it ignored the whole Southern question. This was interpreted as a hopeful augury; for it was the common and earnest longing that the national government should give the South a rest. Mississippi events indicated that the administration was not averse to this. Recognition of the collapse of the third term boom, and disinclination to have the last year of a double term stained by continuance of strife and the arbitrary use of troops in the South, were not the only influences that inclined the president to leave the South alone. His reputation had suffered by the corrupt practices

in which some of his closest friends, high officials, were detected. The scandals which, through these men, hung around the president deserve recognition as an influence on reconstruction history. They raised such a tempest that the party leaders were no longer able to blind the public to the prevailing corruption and debauchery at Washington, by focusing attention on the South.

Of a cluster of scandals which were given national notoriety, two were located very near the throne. When congress met the public sense of morality was offended by the "crooked whiskey" frauds upon the government. Sentiment had been turned strongly against President Grant because of his arbitrary order discharging ex-Senator Henderson, of Missouri, who had been retained to assist in the prosecution of the criminals, from the government service. His speech had been construed as "an attack upon the president." The rebuke so inflicted upon an able and distinguished lawyer, drew forth the severest criticism. The greatest sensation, and shock, however, came in the impeachment of Secretary of War Belknap, for the sale of certain post traderships. Damaging as this was to the administration, the case was made worse by the audacious and abortive effort of party leaders in the house to defeat impeachment. The prevailing opinion was expressed in the following comment by the *New York Herald:*

"General Grant is responsible for the condition of affairs which bears fruit in the downfall of his minister. We can trace the whole tree of corruption back to his idea that the presidency was a personal possession and not a trust. Belknap is a symptom of the disease, not a sporadic case of dishonesty. For this and for all that may come in its train, the leaders of the Republican party are also responsible. Mr. Blaine, Mr. Conkling, Mr. Fish, Mr. Morton, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Edmonds are all as responsible for this moral earthquake as the president. They have submitted to every command, endorsed every outrage. They have been the willing advocates of every act of usurpation. They had no protest, no objection, and now when the Belknap business thrusts before us in its naked deformity, when we see ring after ring breaking and developing the deepest corruption, when we find the American name over the world the synonym of official dishonesty, when because of the infamy of this trusted leader of the administration our very institutions are in reproach, it is time for the people, and especially the honest Republicans, to hold the true culprits responsible."

The session of the 44th congress assembled while the country was in the throes of this "moral earthquake." It was the close

of the 10th year after the war, and the last of the nation's first centennial was an eventful one. It was chiefly memorable for a large Democratic majority, the first since the war, in the representative branch. The changed complexion was accepted by all as a rebuke to the Republican party, no less for rank corruption in the national administration, than for the reconstruction abuses. Still, the defeat, signal though it was, was viewed no more than a rebuke of a party that was yet dominant in Northern sentiment. It did not mean trust of, or forgiveness for, the Democratic party. This limitation upon their victory was apparent by the leaders, especially those from the South. They did not feel, yet, that their States were out of the woods. The representative house could not alone expunge the laws nor annul the policy on which the reconstruction government rested. The Northern people were not yet ready for that. Hence a Democratic house could only be accepted as a turn of the tide. It was of infinite value nevertheless. If there could be no repeal of there could be no addition to vindictive laws.

To hold what was gained in representation in Congress, and in the restoration of home rule, and to lay the foundations of complete Southern political rehabilitation, wisdom counseled a policy or rigid avoidance of sectional controversy, of words that could be used for giving such turn to congressional debate. When congress had assembled, the caucus of the Democratic majority for electing a speaker was looked upon as a crucial test of temper and sagacity. The election for speaker of a Northern Democrat, Mr. Kerr, of Indiana, was matter of course. Most wisely Mr. Lamar was chosen to preside over the caucus. In taking the gavel he addressed himself to the occasion in a speech of wisest counsel, and which was a keynote of party policy. The following pregnant passages are quoted:

"We are here confronted with a crisis in the history of the Democratic party and of the country, which brings to our party a grand opportunity. But it is at the same time freighted for us with responsibilities, and if we do not improve these opportunities, and rise to the measure of the responsibilities, the fruits of the great political revolution which has brought us here to-day, will be like the fruits which grow upon the shores of the accursed sea.

"Apprehension and distrust of one part of the nation that that portion

of the Southern people who were arrayed against the authority of the Federal government in the late war would be an element of disturbance to the American Union, has mainly disappeared; and this is evidenced by your election. In its stead has grown a more fraternal feeling, which regards us of the Southern States as fellow-citizens of the same great nation; and, on the other hand, the people of whom I speak (of whom I am one) are here to-day by their chosen representatives, ready to honor any draft which the American people may draw upon their patriotism or their faith in the glory and the beneficent destiny of American institutions. The experiment which has been introduced amongst us, based upon confidence in the workings of local self-government and intended to solve the difficulties connected with the recent social and political transformation, should have an open field and fair play. No hindrance should be placed in the way of its vigorous development and its success.

"It has been said that the day of sentimental policies has passed away, but, gentlemen, there is one part of this Union (that part which I know best) which asks for the great moral nutriment to a spirited and noble people. We want a government that we can love and revere, and serve from the motive of reverence and love. We hunger for patriotism which shall knit all the people together in a generous and loving brotherhood, and which shall be as broad as the territory over which the national flag floats. Let me say here that no government, no nation, can prosper without this vital fire. It is a sentiment which acting upon free institutions and reacting through them upon the people constitutes their public spirit and polititcal genius.

"Gentlemen, we are here as Democrats, members of a political party which has had a long, glorious history. Let us, in our duties this winter, recall and revive those principles, the faithful maintenance of which by the fathers of our country secured it, for so long a period, the confidence and support of the people. Let us seek to renew the prosperity, to advance the guarantees and glory of our country. Let us resolve to win the confidence, the affection, of the whole American people for our party by showing them that we, its present representatives, have statesmanship, patriotism, and strength of purpose enough to deserve that confidence and affection.

"Let us not forget that the great victory of last fall, which brought us here, and which gives us these opportunities and great responsibilities, was achieved, not alone by Democratic votes, but with the co-operating efforts of patriotic and unselfish men of all parties, who wearied and alarmed by the menacing evils resulting from corruption and maladministration, chose to call us to the duty of checking these evils and clearing away these corruptions. If we are wise, we shall so rule ourselves and so serve our country as to retain the confidence of these voters. Reforms are urgently needed. Let us wisely make them. A renewed prosperity is everywhere earnestly desired. Let us, by removing unjust discriminations, by imposing a rigid economy, by restoring a sound currency, by securing the equal rights of all States and of all people, make the Democratic party the author of a new prosperity. So we may begin for our party a new and glorious career, in which its history shall be once more, as formerly, the story of the Union's greatest grandeur, and of the people's universal happiness and contentment."

This address, which was widely published, was most favorably received and commented upon. Because it had so dealt with a

difficult situation as to be invulnerable to invidious criticism, or attack, it added greatly to Mr. Lamar's reputation. He was looked upon by all as the man to safely pilot the Democratic majority, whose course was beset by traps and pitfalls. For there was to be reckoned with a powerful, ably led and bitterly partisan opposition. Nothing was farther from the thoughts of the Republicans than acceptance of their defeat as a lesson to change their Southern policy. The leaders, James G. Blaine in the house and Oliver P. Morton in the senate, were rivals for the presidential nomination. They were agreed upon a campaign of sectionalism, of "waving the bloody shirt." This was a reversal of Speaker Blaine's position of a year before, when he so effectively opposed the force bill, although it had the endorsement of a Republican caucus. The situation had now changed—the third term, which the bill was designed to promote, was dead. This left Mr. Blaine the unquestioned leading candidate of his party. Having obtained the dominion within his household, he shaped his course in congress for the discomfiture of the Democracy on the old line, of sectional prejudice and passion.

Sectional agitation was first given voice in the senate. Senator O. P. Morton, the then leader of the Radicals, introduced a resolution for investigation of the Mississippi election. A committee of five senators was asked to visit the State and investigate the allegations touching said election. The "allegations" were that "the election was characterized by great frauds, violence and intimidation, whereby the freedom of the ballot was in a great measure destroyed, a reign of terror established, ballot boxes stuffed, spurious tickets imposed upon voters, so that a popular majority of more than 25,000 was overcome and in its place was an apparent, but fraudulent majority of more than 25,000."

The reading of the report was followed by a statement elaborating upon its subject, by Senator Morton. He was asked by Senator Bayard, "under what clause of the constitution he found authority to make inquiry in a case of this kind; that so far as he knew it was without precedent." Declining the challenge to make a constitutional argument, Senator Morton cited the case

of Louisiana. Besides, he said the enforcement act had been violated in Mississippi. To this Mr. Bayard made the perfect reply that the Louisiana investigation was under that clause of the constitution which made the senate the sole judge of seats in that body, and that not until the credentials of a new senator from Mississippi was presented were the cases parallel. He said as to the "violations of the enforcement act, the courts were open for indictments of offenders and in those courts the remedy was to be found. The officers all over the State were Republicans and if they could not punish violators of the law, it was a sad confession for the senator to make." Mr. Bayard also referred to the silence in the president's message, saying that the department of justice had its agents down there gathering information, and yet from that department there was not one word or suggestion of these alleged wrongs. "If they existed it was most remarkable that the president kept a dead silence about them." The resolution was not pressed further at this time.

Envious of Senator Morton, James G. Blaine watched for a like chance to signalize his leadership of the house minority on the same line. As unscrupulous as he was adroit and audacious, he only waited for the Democrats to afford an opening, to make some false step, by which he could attract the gaze of the country and the applause of his party. He did not have to wait long, finding his inning when a general amnesty bill was introduced by Samuel G. Randall of Pennsylvania, the leader of the Northern house Democrats. Apparently fitting and well timed, Blaine made this measure his opportunity for raising a veritable tempest of passion. He baited the Southern members through an amendment he offered, excepting from the operations of the measure, Jefferson Davis. He accompanied his amendment with a speech that was a masterpiece of invective, malignance, and shrewdness. In appealing to sectional hate, in stirring the war time embers, it was discouragingly effective. The reply of the Hon. Ben H. Hill of Georgia was worthy of that eloquent and patriotic statesman. His defense of Mr. Davis against the atrocious charge of responsibility for the Andersonville horrors was

complete. His plea for justice and equal treatment of the South was most eloquent. But it failed to counteract the insidious poison of the Republican leader. It but served, in fact, to deepen the conviction of the signal misfortune of opening the doors of debate on such a line. And when the incident closed, there was a common feeling that the golden opinions won for Southern Democracy, through Mr. Lamar's caucus speech, had been seriously impaired.

It was especially fortunate that in the ordinary course of the proceedings of the session, Mr. Lamar was soon afforded the opportunity of regaining the ground lost in the amnesty debate. He had been absent in Mississippi at the time of that infelicitous incident. This may have been either fortunate for him or unfortunate for his party. The summons to do distinguished service came to Mr. Lamar again when the bill appropriating money for the centennial celebration was being debated. As such appropriations were then a novelty, there was apprehension of defeat by the members in charge of the bill. At such a juncture Mr. Lamar was asked to come to its rescue. The speech that he made was a most cogent and convincing demonstration of the constitutionality of the bill. And in his argument for the centennial he quite consistently interwove a most patriotic and eloquent plea against the distrustful policy that had for so many years harrassed the South. He literally captivated and captured the country—more completely even than in the famous Sumner ovation of the previous year. It is not too much to say that no speech in the whole history of the country ever won greater applause. Certainly no other of that discordant period appealed so powerfully to the spirit of nationalism or against the sectionalism under which the South was groaning. The speech and the benign and concilatory response it evoked throughout the North was not suited to the purposes and the policy of the Radical leaders. It was the paramount prompting of their political creed, to keep the South under the national ban. And no occasion that could so serve passed without being used to that unpatriotic end. The passage of the centennial bill was closely followed by the impeachment of Secretary

of War Belknap. Mr. Blaine sought to use that occasion as he had the amesty bill: for inflaming partisanship and placing the Democrats in a false position. For the unworthy attempt to inject faction where it had no place, Mr. Blaine only incurred from Mr. Lamar a signal rebuke and an ignominous forensic overthrow.

The meeting of the legislature Tuesday, January 4, 1876, was an event memorable in the history of the State. It was the first gathering of a State representatives body of lawmakers in nine years. In personnel the membership was eminently worthy of the occasion; of the duties, the demands, of a most exacting and critical situation. Misrule had reached its climax—the campaign had hinged upon the chances of change or chaos; of revolution or ruin. Not even the tocsin of war had sounded a more urgent call upon patriotic duty and the pride of race. Social order, the very muniments of civilization were imperiled. It was through such perilous environments that the best intellects and the truest manhood of Mississippi were called to make up the legislature of 1875. The victory at the polls being won, the fruits were to be gathered. On the one hand there was the necessity of enacting thorough measures for the restoration of government to the white men of the State. On the other hand, there was a clamor for an extreme, a vindictive policy to be kept within bounds. There was never a legislative body where demagoguery was at greater discount—when resolute courage was to be so tempered by the wisdom of statesmanship.

Organization was effected in the house by the unanimous election of the Hon. H. M. Street of Prentiss county, as speaker, while the Hon. J. M. Stone was unanimously chosen president pro-tem of the senate. Both of these men had served in the legislature throughout the reconstruction sessions, and had proved their pre-eminent worthiness for the positions to which they were chosen. The two questions that most absorbed attention when the legislature assembled were the election of a United States senator and the impeachment of Ames. While several men of prominence had been urged by their respective admirers for the Alcorn succession in the senate, when the session opened the

contest was narrowed down between Lamar and George. But before the legislature met to ballot, it became so apparent that the former was favored by a majority of the members that General George was withdrawn in the Democratic caucus. Mr. Lamar was duly elected by the unanimous Democratic vote, the Republicans not voting for any one. Their non-action was stated to be a part of the scheme to have the election held to be invalid on account of the fraud and intimidation charged.

The idea of impeaching Ames was intensified by his splenetic and gratuitously insulting message. The members of the legislature and the public were in no humor for any arraignment of the methods and circumstances by which the election had been carried. There was no one who did not feel that in the background of the charges of "deeds of violence," of "intimidation of officials and voters," of "perpetration of frauds on the ballot," of the "virtual disfranchisement of one race," was the fullest justification in the misrule and corrupt government of his party. Here was the true responsibility which Ames sought to gloss over by the false and insolent assertion that the administration of the State government had furnished no cause of abuse or grievance; that "revolutionizing the State government was to be attributed to a race question"; to the "effort of the white race to reassert its old supremacy." He mocked the people with the claim that "the happy financial condition of the State preclude the possibility of a financial cause for the great evil that has befallen it." The sole basis of the assertion of "a happy financial condition" was "a small debt of only half a million dollars." That there was not a vastly larger debt was due to the notorious fact that the securties of the State were not salable. As bonds could not be marketed, the pirates looted for cash. They levied a rate of taxation that was fast mounting up to confiscation. In the three years of 1871, 1872, and 1873, in spite of the confiscatory tax rate disbursements exceeded receipts over $2,000,000; with no works of improvement to show for it except certain additions to State buildings, each of which represented a corrupt job. Reciting this excess in his message, Ames claimed that in the years 1874 and 1875 receipts exceeded disbursements. But he

did not say that this result was achieved by increasing the State taxes—through an arbitrary raise of assessed values—and by saddling a large proportion of the tax burthen of the State on the counties. Nor did he include in his "happy financial condition" mention of the millions of outstanding county, municipal and levee bonds and warrants, which represented in the main the stealings of his robber gang.

In the senate there was a spirited reply to that portion of the governor's message, impeaching the methods and results of the election. Resolutions specifically controverting the allegations in the message were adopted. But controversy was brushed aside in the adoption by the house, January 7th, of the following, offered by Gen. W. S. Featherston, of Marshall County:

"1. *Resolved,* that a committee of five be appointed by the speaker of the house to inquire into the official conduct of Adelbert Ames, governor of the State of Mississippi, and to report to this house at as early a day as practicable, whether there are good grounds for his impeachment of high crimes and misdemeanors, and that said committee have power to send for persons and papers.

"2. That said committee submit to this house, with their report, the testimony taken under this resolution."

The following were appointed to constitute said committee: Featherston, Tucker, Percy, Muldrow, Parsons. Committees of inquiry were also appointed to report upon the impeachment of the two negroes, A. K. Davis and T. W. Cardoza, lieutenant-governor and superintendent of public education.

Pending the reports upon the impeachment matters, which were of dominant interest, the legislature set to work to reform and revise the laws governing the expenditure of the public funds. One of the first acts was to scale salaries, cut down the cost of printing, and repeal the "gatling gun" law, of the preceding session. The straw bond custom, whereby a group of professionals made bonds for officials who could not obtain securities in the counties where they officiated, was abolished. Annual reduction in current expenses of the State was estimated in an exhibit in the senate at $256,000 per annum. The cost of running the lower house of legislature was cut down from $195 to $74 a day. In the senate the proportion, while the amounts were not itemized, was stated to be greater. The question of

reducing taxation without repudiating, or failing to make due and adequate provision for, a large floating warrant debt of the State, counties, levee districts, and municipalities was a very perplexing one. While a large proportion of such liabilities were known to be fraudulent, the general sentiment favored providing for payment without enforced scaling. Under the wisest and most skillful thought the revenue problem which Governor Ames pronounced "a happy financial condition," was proved to be a difficult and perplexing one. It was made the more arduous by a system of State accounting which seemed contrived for the purpose of confusion.

The senate convened as a court of impeachment of the negro lieutenant-governor, A. K. Davis, February 19th. He was impeached for pardoning one Thomas H. Barrentine, of Lowndes County, who was under indictment for murder. It was alleged and charged that said pardon was issued in consideration of a bribe of $1,250 paid to Davis. March 15th the senate, by a vote of 35 to 2, rendered a verdict of guilty, sentence being held up. Such of the senators as desired were permitted to file written opinions in the case. The following is quoted from the paper filed by Senator Pratt, Republican:

"It is with great reluctance that I am forced to the conclusion of the guilt of the lieutenant governor. A personal friend, belonging to the same political household, it is a matter of profound regret and humiliation to myself, as it must be to every Republican, that one whom the party had elevated to so high a position should prove false to the trust reposed in him."

Governor Ames was implicated as a party to the guilty action of the lieutenant-governor. His adjutant general and most intimate associate, A. G. Packer, testified:

"Lieutenant Governor Davis came to me and told me he was authorized to employ an agent to get a pardon for Barrentine and asked if I would accept the agency. * * * I saw Governor Ames in his office and presented him the papers in the Barrentine case. He declined to take action at that time on account of being very busy."

Being asked if Governor Ames said anything about Davis issuing the pardon, Packer replied:

"Yes, he said he was going North in a short time and if he did not do it before he went, he would let Davis take such action as he thought

proper. Governor Ames left June 8th. Governor Davis came into office on the 9th, appointed me private secretary and on the 11th ordered me to make out a pardon for Barrentine and I made it out."

Q. "Was that fee ($600.00) that was promised you for your influence with Ames or Davis? A. For my influence with Ames. Q. Will you swear you approached Ames on this subject? A. I did."

There is no record that Governor Ames excepted to Packer's testimony. Senator Chalmers, in his written opinion, says:

"Governor Ames' testimony on this point is as follows: 'Q. Had you been applied to by General Packer to pardon Barrentine? A. I cannot say; I do not know whether any one had applied to me or not; I do not remember General Packer or any one else speaking to me about that case.' It is worthy of remark that this claim of General Packer, and the statement of Davis as to the knowledge and consent of Ames in this matter, has been frequently in print, and that while the governor indirectly denies the fact he is by no means emphatic in his denial, and he did not seem to be surprised or offended at the claim and assertion of his friend and adjutant general."

The impeachment articles in the case of T. W. Cardoza, the negro superintendent of public education, comprised a more variegated field of villiany than that of A. K. Davis. He had already been "plastered over with indictments" for thefts of considerable sums committed while circuit clerk of Warren county. This furnished grounds of impeachment and was covered accordingly in the 1st and 2d articles. For wilfully and corruptly appropriating funds of the negro Tugaloo College of which he was *ex-officio* treasurer, he was further impeached. His largest thefts were done under cover of accounts for school printing supplies, which were consummated through corruptly conspiring with John B. Raymond and others, proprietors of the Pilot Publishing Company and a St. Louis publishing house. Forged educable lists netted him additional thousands of dollars. He was, nevertheless, permitted to resign and the impeachment proceedings against him dismissed. The legislature had no time to waste on a common negro thief. Nothing more was sought than riddance of the whole corrupt crew.

The far more interesting and important report in the case of Governor Ames was placed before the house, February 22d. It recited that the committee "had for thirty-eight days diligently and industriously engaged in the discharge of the duties under

the resolution of the house; having examined fifty-five witnesses, of whom thirty-six were Republicans and nineteen Democrats. Governor Ames had been requested to furnish names of such witnesses as he wished; and "that the committee states with pleasure that this request has been complied with and all who had been summoned at the governor's instance, save one whose illness prevented, had been examined fully." The testimony, it was claimed, had not been exparte, hasty or superficial.

"Your committee in pursuing this inquiry have endeavored to divest themselves of all partisan feeling and political or personal prejudice and to keep steadily in view the one great object to be attained by this investigation, that is to ascertain whether the official conduct of Governor Ames has furnished the people of the State grounds which would justify and demand his impreachment * * * The conclusion reached by your committee has not been sought or desired, but has been forced on them by convictions of duty, and gladly would they have arrived at a different conclusion, for the honor of the State and its chief executive officer, if the testimony in the case had justified them in doing so. Your committee, therefore, submit that Adelbert Ames, governor of the State of Mississippi, should be impeached and removed from office for his official misconduct in the following instance."

The report following contained eleven charges, which were in brief as follows: First and second related to refusals to remove certain officials as required by law, and the appointment of others, also in violation of law. The third charge was based upon the ejectment of the sheriff of Warren County in January, 1875. The fourth related to a swap of offices, under permission of the governor, by Chancellor Cassidy and District Attorney Deason. The fifth was based on the lease of State convicts. The sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth certain removals and appointments of chancellors; the removals of Chancellors Drennan and Peyton being for refusal to yield to the governor in the decision of certain cases before them. The tenth charge related to the governor's part in the Vicksburg riots of the previous year; and the eleventh to his part in the Hinds County troubles.

In conclusion, the committee cited to the testimony submitted, for proof of the charges made:

"Without attempting to analyze, to clarify, to condense or to recite any of the testimony of this report your committee herewith submit it to the house for its candid, impartial and conscientious judgment, in obedience to the terms of the resolution under which your committee was appointed."

With their report the committee submitted and asked the adoption of the following resolution:

"That Adelbert Ames, governor of Mississippi, be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors in office."

After debate, and the rejection of numerous substitutes, this was adopted, February 25th, by a vote of 86 to 14. The yeas were all Democrats. Of the negative, two were Democrats. Of the 16 absentees, 11 were Democrats and 5 Republicans. A lengthy minority report which was void of denials of the allegation of fact and wholly made up of technical pleas, was filed by the minority Republican member of the committee. A committee was appointed to notify the senate of the action taken, and the following impeachment managers appointed: Featherston, of Marshall; Percy, of Washington; Tucker, of Chickasaw; Barksdale, of Grenada; Muldrow, of Oktibbeha; Spight, of Tippah.

It is in order to note in connection with the impeachment of Governor Ames, that the senate party complexion was materially changed after the session opened. Then it was listed, twenty-four Democrats to thirteen Republicans, or less than the two-thirds majority necessary to carry impeachment or over-ride the executive veto. The first break was in the announcement of Senator Furlong, the Republican hold-over from Warren County, that he would act in the impeachment of Ames with the Democrats. That change made up the two-thirds majority. Then the Republican senator, Sullivan, from the Bolivar-Coahoma district, was unseated, and his contestant, Gen. James R. Chalmers seated. The Republican senator, McClure, from Jefferson and Franklin, was expelled for corrupt practice in office.

March 13th articles of impeachment were reported to the house of representatives by the impeachment managers. As recited in the record, "articles were exhibited by the house of representatives in the name of themselves and all the people of the State against Adelbert Ames, governor of Mississippi, in maintenance and support of their impeachment against him for high crimes and misdemeanors in office." The articles numbered twenty-one and were, in brief, as follows:

I. Failure to remove Sheriff Connor of Noxubee county, defaulter, as required by law.

II. Appointment of certain officials in Washington county for partisan purpose, and in violation of law.

III. Approval of defective bond of State Treasurer Holland, and allowing him to remain in office without sufficient bond and after official notice of same.

A. Instigating forcible removal of A. J. Flanagan, sheriff of Warren county, by United States troops.

VI and VII. Relating to lease of convicts to personal and partisan favorites, whereby the State was defrauded of a large sum of money.

VIII. Consenting to and conniving at an exchange and swap of offices between a chancellor and a district attorney.

IX. Violating the constitution and laws, by failing and refusing to send his nominations of chancellors to the senate for confirmation, as required, which failure and refusal was for corrupt and partisan purposes. To this article there are thirteen specifications.

X and XI. Attempting to control the rulings and decisions of Chancellor William B. Peyton in a certain case before him, and removing him because said decisions and rulings were disagreeable to the governor.

XII. The same as above with Chancellor W. A. Drennan.

XIII and XIV. Unlawful removal of Chancellors Christian and Simmons.

XV. Appointing men chancellors who were notoriously incompetent. To this article there are six specifications.

The remaining articles, from XVI to XXI, inclusive, cover the Hinds county and Vicksburg riots and disorders, and the attempts of the governor to bring on a race war.

The house, by resolution, demanded that "the said Adelbert Ames be put to answer," etc.; and that "such proceedings * * * may be therefore had and given as may be agreeable to law." The same was adopted by a vote of 71 to 8. A further resolution was adopted, informing the senate of the action taken,

and that the impeachment managers were ready to present the same according to the convenience of that body, was passed.

On the following day, March 14th, the impeachment managers, accompanied by the speaker and members of the house, appeared and were announced to the senate by the sergeant-at-arms. Upon announcement of the house action the senate took action, and the articles of impeachment were read by Manager Percy. A resolution was adopted by the senate to proceed to consider the same, and for a committee to notify the chief justice, Simrall, to preside and administer the oath required. March 16th the senate was convened as a court of impeachment, H. F. Simrall, chief justice of the supreme court, presiding and administering the oath required to the senators. No further action was taken then than the issuance of a summons citing the governor to appear the next day to answer the impeachment articles. The day appointed, the senate as a court of impeachment, was called to order by Chief Justice Simrall, when Thomas J. Durant, counsel for the governor, asked for five days time in which to answer and plead to the charges. This was granted—the order reading that the plea was to be filed and the managers then given three days to file replication, the trial to commence March 28th.

In the time between the impeachment and the date of trial of Governor Ames, there was an occurrence which threatened to disturb the programme for securing a Democratic governor. As stated already, sentence had been suspended in the case of Lieutenant-Governor Davis. The suspension was to give time for passage of an act repealing the governor's power to fill the vacancy by appointment. Such act had been passed by the two houses, but it was as yet unsigned. In this juncture Lieutenant-Governor Davis resigned. There was excited speculation concerning the governor's action. His partisans urged him to make an appointment. Had he done so the situation might have been seriously complicated. But Ames doubtless thought he had troubles enough without taking chances of adding to them. His decision not to fill the vacancy occasioned acute disappointment among his political associates who were not slow to accuse him of infidelity.

March 23d the senate pronounced the judgment that "A. K. Davis, lieutenant-governor, be removed from office and be disqualified from holding any office of profit or trust."

On the 27th the impeachment managers presented to the senate court two additional articles of impeachment of Ames. They charged the governor with "feloniously, corruptly granting a pardon to one Alexander Smith," who was convicted in the Chickasaw court and sentenced to a life term. The signal and surprising sequence to this additional charge calls for more than a passing reference. It grew out of a resolution the house had adopted, the preamble to which recited that one Alexander Smith had been convicting of raping a ten-year-old girl, and given a life sentence, that this convict, "a foreigner, a stranger and friendless, was pardoned over the refusal of the judge or district attorney who tried him, and without a petition for pardon from the people of the county; through the active exertions of men from distant parts of the State, strangers to him and the circumstances of his case. And that soon after Smith's incarceration he fell heir to a legacy of three or four thousand dollars." Under the facts as stated, an investigation was ordered. Smith, who it was learned, had been given a ticket to Chicago and $700 of his money, and hurried from the penitentiary to a northbound train—was brought back to the State and his evidence taken. It was on his testimony that the additional articles of impeachment were based; articles that differed from the others in charging a "felonious intent." It was alleged in article 22 that the pardon was granted in consideration of the payment by Smith to William Noonan, the superintendent of the penitentiary, the sum of $2,800, and $200 to Fred Parsons; which sums were paid accordingly and the pardon was issued and delivered to Smith. The pardon, it was charged, was issued upon the petition of a few of Ames' friends, residents of a distant part of the State, who did not pretend any personal knowledge of the facts of the crime; "and which petition states only one substantial reason for executive clemency, and that statement was known to be absolutely false." The additional articles were adopted by the house, on

a vote of 58, all Democrats, to 9, six Republicans and three Democrats.

The additional impeachment articles were presented to the senate, sitting as a court, on Monday, March 27th. Counsel for the governor, Thomas J. Durant, asked until Thursday to answer. After the discussion, he was given until Wednesday, the 29th. When the senate was convened as a court on that day, the answer, "denying that the court could legally make charges upon crimes and misdemeanors after proceedings had commenced, and that in pardoning Smith, respondent had not committed any crime or misdemeanor." Manager Featherston then asked until 3:30 P. M. in which to file replication, and a recess was taken. Then the unexpected, the climax, happened. When the house had assembled, at an early afternoon hour, Manager Featherston presented the following communication and resolution:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 28th.

"Gentlemen: In reply to your suggestion I beg to say that in consequence of the election of last November I found myself confronted by a hostile legislature and embarrassed and baffled in my endeavors to carry out my plans for the welfare of the State and of my party. I had resolved therefore to resign my office as governor of Mississippi, but meanwhile proceedings of impeachment were instituted against me, and of course I could not and would not retire from my position under the imputation of any charge affecting my integrity or honor. For the reasons indicated I still desire to escape burdens which are compensated by no possibility of public usefulness; and if the articles of impeachment presented against me were not pending, and the proceedings were dismissed, I would feel at liberty to carry out my desire and purpose of resignation.

"I am very truly yours,

"ADELBERT AMES.

"To Messrs. Durant and Pryor."

The letter read to the house was in reply to the following:

"JACKSON, MISS., March 28, 1876.

"*To His Excellency, Adelbert Ames, Governor of Mississippi:*

"The fact disclosed to us to-day, that before impeachment proceedings were begun against you, you had resolved to resign your office, has led us to consider whether your purpose might not be resumed and carried out without any sacrifice to your honor and dignity. Appreciating the sensibility which restrains you from resigning while charges are pending against you, we are nevertheless of the opinion that in the event the charges are withdrawn, you may retire without the least compromise of your reputation. An examination of all the evidence adduced against you

satisfies us that your acquittal would be the result of a thorough and impartial trial. But when we contemplate the expense you must incur in procuring the attendance of hundreds of witness, whom it will be necessary to summons from various parts of the State, we do not see why you should suffer so great a sacrifice when your vindication may be accomplished by a withdrawal of the charges. Awaiting your reply to the suggestion hereby conveyed, we have the honor to be your excellency's obedient servants,

"THOS. J. DURANT,
"ROGER A. PRYOR."

The following was submitted with the Ames' letter to his counsel:

"WHEREAS, assurance has been received by the house of representatives of the State of Mississippi, that Adelbert Ames, governor of said State, but for the proceedings against him of articles of impeachment, exhibited by the house of representatives, would have resigned his office of governor, and will now do so as the managers are informed by a letter addressed by said Governor Ames to his counsel, Messrs. Durant and Pryor, read to the house, on a resolution adopted, directing its managers to dismiss said proceedings; now, therefore,

"*Be it resolved*, by the house of representatives of the State of Mississippi, that the managers on the part of this house, in the matter of the impeachment of Adelbert Ames, governor of said State, be and they are hereby directed to dismiss the said articles against the said Adelbert Ames, governor, as aforesaid heretofore exhibited by them against him at the bar of the senate."

This was adopted by a vote of 78 to 10.

When the senate reassembled at the hour ordered, 3:30 P. M., Manager Featherston presented the resolution adopted in the house, and asked that the articles of impeachment against Governor Ames be dismissed. An order was adopted by the court of impeachment to that effect, whereupon Mr. Durant, of counsel for Governor Ames, read the following:

"Executive Office, March 29th. To the People of Mississippi: I hereby respectfully resign my office of governor of Mississippi. Adelbert Ames."

Immediately the senate arose and marched in a body to the office of the chief executive, which their president, J. M. Stone, took possession of as the constitutional successor of Ames, resigned. And thus was severed the last strand of the Gordian knot binding Misissippi to the abomination of carpetbag and negro domination and robbery. On this same eventful evening

the senate received a message from the house, announcing the adoption of the following resolution:

"*Resolved,* by the house, the senate concurring, that the two houses meet in joint convention, in the hall of the house of representatives, this day at 5 o'clock P. M., to inaugurate Hon. J. M. Stone, president *pro tempore,* of the senate, governor of the State of Mississippi."

The senate concurred, and at the hour appointed the two houses met as ordered and the oath of office was administered to Senator Stone, who made brief and appropriate acknowledgement and pledges upon his elevation to the "high and responsible position." The speaker of the house, H. M. Street, then formally announced and proclaimed that Hon. J. M. Stone "is now the constitutional and legal governor of the State of Mississippi."

Tarrying not on the order of his going, Governor Ames forthwith shook the Mississippi dust from his shoes. Returning whence the evil winds had blown him, "the place that had known him knew him no more." Departing northward, he left behind him an address to the people of Mississippi, which was an attempt to explain his resignation and defend his record. Claiming that his resignation was the logical sequence of the defeat of his party, he said he would have then resigned but for the impeachment with which he was menaced. He said:

"Conscious of my own integrity, I waited patiently to see what possible charges could be made, casting from my mind all thought of leaving my official position while even a whisper of accusation should be heard against me. These charges were finally made and framed in the form of articles of impeachment. * * * They are known to you all and known to contain no accusation which in substance however incriminating in form, could, if proved, have tarnished my personal honor and integrity. I have met these charges with that prompt and full denial which placed me before the bar of legal and public opinion as innocent of them whatever they might be; and I have seen them dismissed absolutely and unconditionally. This result leaves me at liberty to accomplish that purpose which I had previously entertained and avowed. And accordingly as soon as the articles of impeachment against me had been dismissed I tendered my resignation of the high and responsible office to which your unsought suffrage had elevated me."

The evidence submitted in proof of these various articles plainly reflect the lawless and profligate rule of the State under the Ames administration. In that of the convict leasing there

is the fixed presumption of a corrupt pecuniary or political motive. The article recites that O. C. French, a personal and partisan favorite of said Adelbert Ames, and with his assistance and approval, clandestinely and secretly obtained without any competitnon or public bidding, as the law required, a five years' contract lease of 450 convicts, without remuneration or compensation other than clothes and keep. And that on the same day the lease of 200 of said convicts was transferred to E. Richardson for sums amounting to a profit and bonus of $14,700. The sub-lease, it is charged, was made with the consent and approval of Governor Ames. He also knew that when the convicts were leased to French and Jobes, for no other consideration than their guard, feed and clothing, that had other and responsible bidders been given opportunity the 450 convicts could have been leased for sums aggregating $33,500, in addition to said expenses.

The circumstances of the attempt to control the decision of Chancellor W. B. Peyton, also raise the presumption of pecuniary corruption. There was a large sum of money involved in the suit wherein the governor sought to influence the decision of the chancellor. The suit was that of the University *et al. vs.* the Vicksburg and Nashville railroad. The most sinister feature of the case was the activity of the most notorious and influential corruptionists of the Ames' administration, Jno. B. Raymond, publisher of the *Pilot,* and Adjutant General Packer, to get the case decided the way that was sought by the governor. Raymond testified to urging the removal of the chancellor—"advocating his removal forthwith. * * * Every suggestion of General George, attorney for the railroad, was acted on without a moment's hesitation." The simple fact that General George was on the opposite side from that espoused by Ames and his thieving satellites, proves the chancellor's rectitude. Attorney General Harris testified that the governor asked his advice as to the removal of Chancellor Peyton, and, "by his conversation he would have removed him, but I declined to advise it." In the case of Chancellor Drennan, the attorney general testified that "Ames removed him, as I believe, for refusing bail to the governor's

friend, A. T. Morgan, of Yazoo, charged with the murder of Hilliard." Governor Stone testified that he "informed Governor Ames of the forgery charges against Chancellor Barton, of the district in which he resided; and that they could be proved. He was appointed, nevertheless, and held several courts before a partisan senate investigated his case and the charge was sustained."

The testimony of Major Allyn, commander of the United States garrison at Jackson, deserves to be cited as a part of the history of the Vicksburg riot of the year before. He was present at a meeting at the governor's mansion, with a number of the leading Republicans. Crosby, the fugitive sheriff, was present and the conversation was concerning his plight. The attorney general favored appealing to the courts. Major Allyn testified that,

> "The views of those opposed were that * * * it was Crosby's duty to use the entire power of the county to maintain * * * himself in office. It was alleged that the posse of negroes simply would cause bloodshed. The governor asserted that it undoubtedly would and made a remark which I do not think it was intended everybody should hear—"that very likely fifteen or twenty negroes would be killed, but that it would result to the benefit of the Republican party.' Before leaving the governor asked it I had any advice to give. I told him no. But having some private advice to give him, I took him to one side and said: 'I think you had better accept the resignation of Crosby, and appoint the best man you can find in your party to that office—without regard to the locality in which that party may live."

With the record evidence that his resignation was a condition precedent, sole and absolute, the assertion of the governor that the charges against him were "dismissed absolutely and unconditionally" is a stupid and an impudent fiction. But there was little disposition to controvert the construction which Governor Ames placed upon his retirement. His prompt resignation was the main, in fact the whole, thing; his conviction was only sought for getting rid of him. Thus his claim of vacating the governorship under "no accusation which in substance, however incriminating in form, could, if proved, have tarnished my personal honor and integrity," passed almost without challenge. On such conclusion of the prosecution the defenders of Ames have sought to rest his record. If the claim that he kept his own

fingers clean were true, the taxpayers profited nothing by his abstinence. If he did not share the loot, it may be said that no other honest man ever lived, who was so partial to thieves. The trail of the serpent, which was over all his administration, lay very close to his door on a number of occasions. Article four of the impeachment bill which charged the governor with "approving contracts for leasing convicts to his partisan friends, French and Jobes, without pay or compensation, when the same convicts were leased within a short time by the contractors for a large sum," fixed a presumption of corrupt connivance that nothing but a trial and acquittal on proof could have removed.

But the imputation of corrupt practice is heaviest upon the governor in the Smith pardon—the case covered by the additional article. Here, although the strictures of the impeachment managers were more severe than in any other article, and the crime of the convict was so heinous that pardon was infamous, the grave charges lodged against the governor were not even specifically denied or replied to. Had the pleas of Ames and his counsel been good in the other articles, in this Smith pardon it is an insult to common sense to say that trial could be avoided without "sacrifice to honor and dignity." No innocent man possessed of any sense of honor or dignity would have failed to insist upon trial; regardless of expense and sacrifice. Nor is it to be thought that the impeachment managers or the legislature sought such a termination of the impeachment of Ames. It was urged on them, it is shown, in the following letter from the governor's leading counsel, Gen. Roger A. Pryor, to B. F. Butler, the father of Mrs. Ames:

"NEW YORK, April 3, 1876.

"My Dear General:

"I had purposed to come by Washington, but my engagements in New York were imperative and indispensable. Messrs. Durant and Clancy will give you a full report of our proceedings in Mississippi. A thorough reconnoissance of the enemy's position left no doubt of our client's conviction. The question then arose whether his interest did not require that we should, if possible, avert that catastrophe. We all agreed that if it could be done without loss of honor we had better accept the alternative of resignation. Accordingly I opened negotiations with leading men against us, with many of whom I had old and intimate associations, and after a strenuous struggle it was arranged that they should dismiss the charges and then the governor should resign. This plan was carried out

without any reflection on the governor's character. * * * The fact of his appointment as a delegate to Cincinnati shows that he has not lost caste with his own party in the State. The settlement effected is infinitely more satisfactory than I conceived possible on my arrival in Jackson. * * * Throughout the trying crisis he bore himself as a brave honorable gentleman. Whatever his political enemies charge him with they can never reproach him with corruption or cowardice."

No such delusions appeared in comments of Northern papers upon the nature of Ames' resignation. The truth was laid bare in the following from the *Brooklyn Argus*:

"The extraordinary termination of the impeachment proceedings in Mississippi by the resignation of Governor Ames 'under fire' is an episode that cannot be permitted to pass without explanation. Such a termination to proceedings that impugned the personal honor of the governor either argues gross cowardice or conscious guilt on his part. Mr. Ames cannot plead ignorance that his resignation under such circumstances could only be construed injuriously to himself. In his letter to the managers of the impeachment offering to resign if the articles of impeachment were withdrawn, he says that he had made up his mind to resign some time ago, but resolved to remain when he found his impeachment was meditated; adding, 'of course I could not and would not retire from my position under the imputation of any charge affecting my honor or integrity.' These words show that Mr. Ames clearly and accurately understood his position. He knew that when charges had been distinctly formulated and preferred against him, he could not evade a full investigation by resigning his office, without tacitly confessing that the accusations were well founded, and that his honor was justly impugned; and yet in the same letter in which he makes this frank confession, he deliberately proposes to do that very thing."

There can be no doubt but that Governor Ames did seriously contemplate resigning, after his abandonment by the president had worked his sacrifice in the election of 1875. But the causes influencing him to forego what personal interest and inclination prompted, he states neither fully nor candidly. To one who had filled a high position so long, the idea of voluntary retirement that would have been an ignoble close of his career, a base abandonment of his following to a titular successor who was a negro, and a cause of gloating triumph to his factious enemies, was not to be persisted in. As to impeachment, prior to the filing of the articles, this seemed difficult if not remote. A *modus vivendi* by which Ames could serve out his term was seriously thougth of by the Democratic leadership. This is recorded in the testimony of G. K. Chase—the agent of the department of justice,

who was sent to Jackson to observe and report on campaign events—before the Boutwell committee:

"Before the election, and the day after the election, Governor Ames wanted to resign; he was determined to resign. I told George and Barksdale (the recognized leaders of the opposition) that Ames was going to resign sure. And they insisted I should persuade Ames not to resign; that he would have a future there, that he was an honest man and they had no objection to him personally; only objected to some men about him. When the election went the way it did I went and saw them the next day and Barksdale made a point of it that Ames should not resign; if he resigned the lieutenant governor would be governor and that would not suit."

At that time the view here expressed seemed quite consistent with the then situation, and entirely so with the duties and responsibilities which devolved on the two Democratic leaders. The original plan and expectation of the State campaign looked to achieving no more than a majority in the representative branch of the legislature. No one suspected, and not until some days after was it known, that in spite of the Republican holdovers, the senate, too, had been carried by nearly a two-thirds vote. In fact impeachment was not brought to the front, and its popularity shown, until the agitation caused by the Holly Springs resolution quoted previously, calling for peace with Ames on the basis of forgiveness of past sins. Just before impeachment had taken shape the following letter from Mr. Lamar to General Walthall, published in Mayes' *Life of Lamar,* betrayed doubt of the advisability of such a proceeding:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 23, 1876.

"My Dear General:

"I want to tell you something confidentially that I have learned from undisputed authority—well, just between you and me, my authority is Beck. He had a conversation with old Ben Butler yesterday. He learned from him all about the impeachment of Ames. The old fellow stated every ground, and had a very plausible and as Ben thought, without knowing the other side—a very satisfactory defense against each charge. He said they could not prove any corruption, any theft, any embezzlement, any robbery. And yet Beck saw that he was anxious and uneasy. He said that Davis was guilty, and that Ames could give them conclusive proof of Davis' guilt, and wanted him impeached. He also said that if the legisalture would not impeach Ames, that he (Ames) would as soon as Davis was found guilty, resign and leave the State in the hands of Stone as governor. Beck says he has not the slightest doubt that old Ben meant what he said, but was able to carry it out. They are preparing for a big fight all along our lines. But rather than have it old Ben (who has

the bills to foot) says that he would bring Ames and Blanche home; and he says he will see to it, that Ames shall resign, and that Morton's investigation shall be squelched.

"I listened to it, and very soon after, meeting Jerry Black, while the matter was on my mind, I said to him: 'Judge, how do you Northern Democrats feel about Ames' impeachment?' He replied: 'It is a thing we feel pretty anxious about. We believe that he deserves it and if you can prove any crooked whiskey on him or any stealing, the impeachment of him would be a proper thing; but if it is for some illegal act, or some usurpation of authority, it will have a damaging effect upon us; and will be used to show that you resort to violent means for political purposes.' * * * It seems to me that the legislature is reluctant to take hold, and is driven on by the press. * * * Beck is perfectly confident that we can get all we want without an impeachment. He says that old Ben with all his badness, will stand to his word better than any of them."

This letter, the information it contained of Mr. Lamar's doubts as to impeachment, for the effect it might have on Northern sentiment and on the election, was doubtless communicated, to the leaders, in the legislature. It was, of course, given deepest consideration. But as the logic of the situation developed, it was seen plainly that there could be no terms with, no place in the new order for Ames. To reap the fruits of the harvest of 1875, it became clear that it was essential to get him out of the executive office; even at the risk of ill results in national politics. Resignation was preferable on all accounts to removal. But no chances could be taken, or time wasted, on it. "The wine was drawn and must be drunk." Light is cast upon the case as it was viewed by the actors in the crisis, in the following from a letter to the author of this work by the Hon. Thos. Spright, dated July 11, 1908:

"Until I read your letter I had overlooked the fact that I am the last survivor of the managers in the impeachment of Ames. After the lapse of thirty years, some of the impeachment events of that period have escaped my memory. I have, however, a distinct recollection that there was a strong sentiment in the legislature, and in the State at large, led by Judge John C. Watson, of Holly Springs, a very able lawyer and at that time editor of the *Holly Springs South*, that none but an indictable offense furnished proper ground for impeachment. Many who voted for impeachment had grave doubts on the subject. Leaving out of consideration any question of the soundness of this position, a great majority of the members of the house determined to take chances, to drive Ames out the governor's office. * * * We were really glad of an opportunity to solve the vexing problem by allowing Ames to resign without a trial. The great desiratum was to clear the way for promoting John M. Stone for governor."

Such was the sentiment under which the resignation of Ames was accepted. In strict justice it should have been rejected and his manifold crimes against the State established by conviction and removal. But expediency, and wisdom, dictated differently. Mississippi's hand was not yet out of the lion's mouth. Her people did not feel safe, or sure that the yoke would not again be forced on their necks. They had the substance of their desire in the resignation of Ames. With his vacation of the executive chair the way was cleared for home rule and house cleaning. It ended the strain and the agitation, and resignation that was voluntary on its face could not be used for inflaming Northern sentiment.

The impeachment and riddance of Ames being consummated a Democratic governor installed and representative government in all its branches established, this memorable session of the legislature was only prolonged for fulfilment of the schedule of reform legislation that was demanded. How large was the task of house cleaning and setting in order may be read in the measures enacted. The rate of taxation was reduced from 9¼ to 6½ mills. Annual appropriations were cut from $600,000 to $400,000. There was a complete revision of the criminal laws. Biennial sessions of the legislature took the place of annual. The penitentiary was removed from the control of favorites and grafters and disposed of under a lease that insured a profit to the State. The dishonest and complicated system of registration of voters was simplified and the cost lessened. Salaries were reduced and the expense of conducting all the State institutions cut down. There was repeal of the infamous militia, or gattling gun, law; and of the State board of equalization. The governor was deprived of the power of appointing tax collectors, and elections provided in lieu of appointments to fill vacancies. The legislature was fairly reapportioned, the principle of local representation, of at least one member from each county, being restored. The congressional districts, too, were changed—the policy of overcoming the white counties by the black being reversed. This led to the formation of the famous "shoe string" district which embraced the river front counties from DeSoto

to the Louisiana line. The district printing bill was repealed, and the cost of State printing reduced from $50,000 to $22,000 a year. The school law was, without reducing the number of schools or the length of terms, made less cumbersome and costly. Provision was made for funding the floating warrant debt, and all State securities soon rose to par. There was like financial reform in the counties. The number of judicial districts was reduced to ten, ten circuit judges and ten chancellors being provided. The last action of the session was the senate's confirmation of the appointees to these positions by Governor Stone. It is superfluous to say that the judiciary was, in its personnel, vastly improved. Final adjournment was had April 15th, the session having lasted three months and a half.

The only new office the legislature created was that of State revenue agent, whose duties required an accounting from county officials. Gen. Wirt Adams, who was appointed to the office, soon had his hands full of business, from the defaulted county tax collectors, *et cet.* The most of them, including Webber, sheriff of Washington; Sullivan, of Bolivar, and Lee, of Holmes, all intimates and partisans of Ames, went North with their stealings. The negro sheriff of Hinds, Harney, being a native, was forced to disgorge $12,000, which he had failed to account for. G. C. Smith appointed by Ames special agent to look after defaulters, reported back from Oberlin, Ohio, failing to remit $12,000 he had collected. Bowles, commissioner for sale of levee lands, carried off as much. A. T. Warner, major general and chairman of the State Committee, was the hero of the "Pearl River Navigation Company" swindle. Under an act which bore robbery on its face a hundred thousand or more acres of State school lands had been granted to certain members of the legislature; to be sold and the proceeds applied to the improvement of Pearl river. Ames approved this transparent swindle and appointed one of his favorites, Col. O. S. Lee, commissioner to sell the lands. The sale was made and the money pocketed by Warner, Lee & Co., without a pretense at complying with the terms of the act. Colonel Lee, who was treasurer of Holmes County, after murdering two negro opponents in the Lexington political riot, absconded with $50,000 of county funds.

Of Col. O. S. Lee and his Holmes County plunder the *Yazoo Herald* had the following:

"The taxpayers of Holmes County have come up with $38,000 of the warrants which left here about the time that Capt. O. S. Lee took his departure for some far away western locality. These warrants were found in possession of a Chicago real estate agent, who traded Lee 1,200 acres of Michigan land for them. He claims to be an innocent purchaser. Lee, when last heard from, was distributing religious tracts to the heathens beyond the Rocky Mountains. He was at one time sheriff of Holmes County, at another circuit clerk, and at another again something else. He was all the while grand 'Preservator of Radicalism in the region thereabout."

The following grossly misleading deductions and errors in Professor Garner's *Reconstruction in Mississippi,* on pages 322 and 323, are deemed worth noting: "So far as the conduct of State officials who were intrusted with the custody of public funds is concerned, it may be said there were no great embezzlements or other cases of misappropriation during the period of Republican rule." As there were no public funds whose amounts would have made "great embezzlements" possible, this implication of freedom from corrupt practice is exceedingly thin. The game of graft was not played that way. It consisted in a general practice of scrip speculation and warrant shaving, of falsified tax rolls, etc. The loot was garnered from a wide field of forays upon the revenues and resources without the risks of actual embezzlement and misappropriations by the State officials in custody of the public funds. In his report to the legislature of 1874, Treasurer Vassar complains of "forcing State paper as a makeshift for a circulating medium at a ruinous discount to the State. * * * The system opens the door to reckless speculation in official circles," etc. "As a remedy I recommend that State taxes be collected hereafter in currency." The "system of official speculation" was the field where the rascals gleaned, leaving behind no track or trace of "embezzlements," great or small.

The legislature enacted a law in accordance with the treasurer's recommendation; requiring payment of all taxes in currency. The effect was a corner on scrip by those who had first call on cash coming in from the tax collectors. By depriving the tax payer of the privilege of paying his taxes in depreciated

warrants this added to their burthens. Nobody profited except officials and official favorites, who had bought up warrants, and had the priority claim on the treasury cash. Now add to this the raise of the already high assessment values under the equalization law of 1874, and a true idea of the burthen, and the confiscatory tribute on which the carpetbag horde throve will appear:

Total realty values	$109,373,980
Total personalty values	47,461,772
Grand total	$156,435,752

On this valuation the State and State teachers' tax combined was 14 mills, or 1.4 per cent., exclusive of local taxes as shown elsewhere. This assessment approximated actual cash values of property. The excess over an ordinary rate of valuation for taxation will be understood by the following comparison:

1880 realty value	$ 79,712,867
1880 personalty value	35,417,800
Total	$115,130,651

These amounts were supposed to represent at least half the actual cash value, at a time when the State had already progressed far in recuperation from the robberies of corrupt government. With the liquidation of floating debts a lopping off of official stealages the tax rate which was reduced to six mills in 1876 was still further reduced. The State tax rate in 1880 was three mills on the dollar, against ten in 1874, levied on the far larger total valuation. The difference in the costs of government of the two periods tells the true story of "the conduct of State officials who were intrusted with the custody of public funds," whose grafts and larcenies are glossed over by Historian Garner because they escaped conviction for "great embezzlements or other misappropriations."

The only exceptions in Garner's verdict of not guilty was the "carpetbag treasurer of the Natchez hospital, who seems to have been the only defaulting State official under Ames, and the

amount of his shortage was $7,251.81; and the colored State librarian during Alcorn's administration, charged with stealing books." This carpetbag clean bill is followed up by the following offset—perhaps the most glaring display of error or ignorance of many in Mr. Garner's history: "The only large case of embezzlement among the State officers during the post bellum period was that of the Democratic State treasurer in 1866. The amount of the shortage was $61,962." The grossness of the perversion of history in this misstatement of the time of the notorious Graves defalcation which occurred before the war, in 1843, can only be looked on as culpable carelessness.

A Washington County circuit court term, called under a peculiar stress of circumstances, was signalized by the last marked exhibition of reconstruction rule in the State. There had been no court held in the county for more than a year. The cause of this hiatus grew out of the arbitrary discharge of the county grand jury a year before to prevent the indictment of the carpetbag sheriff, L. T. Webber; as related elsewhere. As a rebuke to a high-handed and nefarious act, the board of supervisors drew the members of the discharged grand jury, for the ensuing October term. Under the pretense of illness the judge pretermitted court. None was held at the regular term time the following April, 1876. The end of Judge Shackelford's term drawing near, he discovered urgent need for a special term, ostensibly to dispose of the prisoners of an over crowded jail. It was convened the first Monday in May.

It was soon made plain that the real purpose of the special term was that Judge Shackelford instead of his successor, might try indictments sure to be brought in against his carpetbag friends. Unexpectedly to the community, the grand jury unearthed the fact of an organized band of incendiaries and murderers, which had operated in the county for years under the name of the "Brothers and Sisters." Among the organizers, as was sworn to by some of the organization, were a number of county officials, Senator William Gray, Chancery Clerk Bolton, Postmaster Brentlenger. One of the fires to which there was confession was that of the postoffice, in 1874, which burned up nearly all

the business houses of Greenville, and which was done to cover up the robbery of the postoffice by Bolton and Brentlenger; for which the latter had been convicted and sent to the penitentiary. In consternation over revelations, implicating his party friends, which included a dozen burglaries, several fires and murders, Judge Shackelford announced that he would adjourn court at the close of the week. Upon the formal protest and showing of the grand jury, the announcement was withdrawn, and the full term consumed. Partial rulings of the judge in the trial of one of the incendiaries aroused intense feeling. On the last day the climax came in the taking up of the trial of Bolton, the leading carpetbagger of the county, indicted for falsifying records. It was mainly to secure him immunity from future prosecution through a forced acquittal, that the special term had been called. The scheme had been interfered with by the unlooked for discovery, as stated above; for at the close of the term the jury was out and hopelessly hung on a verdict. As its discharge would leave the indictment hanging over Bolton, Judge Shackelford adjourned court to meet again on Monday. His intention to force a verdict was seen in this unauthorized continuance of the term. It was the drop too much. Near midnight a large body of citizens assembled at the courthouse. After addresses had been made by leading men, a committee was appointed to wait on the judge and insist upon his adjourning court *sine die*. As the committee would not be denied, he received it in bed. He positively refused to comply with the request. But after a pointed statement by Col. W. A. Percy, spokesman of the committee, that he would not answer for what the inflamed and waiting crowd would do when he delivered such a reply, Judge Shackelford was convinced that compliance was best. He repaired to the courthouse, and with the worst possible grace, discharged the Bolton jury, and adjourned the court. Bolton left the county forthwith, and never to return; which met the popular wish.

On the Monday night after the adjournment of court, on Saturday night, there was a mass meeting of the citizens of Greenville, which adopted and published the following:

"WHEREAS, the Hon. Chas. C. Shackelford, judge of this district,

during his exercise of authority for the past six years, has marked this period by judicial infamy and outrage. During this dark and lawless period he has exhausted all the legitimate authority of his office, joined to a flagrant usurpation of unlawful powers to protect not only the official rascals who have robbed the country of hundreds of thousands of dollars, but the petty magistrates who have plundered the poor of their hard earnings, and has extended this protection over a society of robbers, who have four times burned out the town and murdered several of our citizens, because it numbered among its members and allies certain officials he made it his object to protect. Judge Shackelford has included in his crime against this community packing grand and petit juries, of discharging the same and setting aside their verdicts when about to bring to justice the felons under his protection. We feel authorized in charging him with the responsibility for a degree of crime in our county developed by the late grand jury so hideous in extent and nature as to strain belief in its existence in a civilized land; and to sicken and startle a community which he has so familiarized with violations of law and unpunished crimes that the public morals is become dull and corrupt, society undermined and the citizens driven to desperation and almost forced to lawless redress. At the recent term of the circuit court, with an intelligent and impartial grand jury we were encouraged to hope that justice would at length be done. On the contrary the arm of the court has been stretched out to avert the course of the law. The boldest and worst of the criminals have escaped through technical loopholes.

"Now, therefore, because the time of office of C. C. Shackelford is about to expire, be it recorded that we have cause of congratulation.

"1. That in future the circuit court with all its great powers will be used in protection of society and the impartial administration of justice, and will be no longer prostituted to the base ends of politics, and made the stage of political influence.

"2. That the criminal can no longer expect favor and protection because of political bias or midnight alliance.

"3. That a patient and a long suffering people may bring its grievances to the bar of justice with assurance of speedy redress.

"4. That outrageous practices shall not be left unmolested to fester in the bosom of the community until they break out in the fever of riot.

"5. That tchnicalities of law will no more be a shelter of oppression and subversion of justice.

"6. That C. C. Shackelford has for the last time presided over the circuit court of Washington County.

"7. That in this nation's centennial year, we hail the coming of local peace and amity, of law and order, and are thankful that the final throe of our thraldom to misrule is over and that the sky of the future is clearing.

"Resolved further, that the thieves, vagrants, robbers and incendaries, and their aiders and abettors in crime not yet in jail but still remaining in the community be and they are hereby notified to leave these parts and the quicker the better."

The meeting adopting these significant resolutions, which were published over the signatures of one hundred of the chief men of Greenville and Washington County, was presided over by the Rev. Stevenson Archer, of the Presbyterian church.

Shortly after the adjournment of the legislature, and the installation of a Democratic governor, there was a serious race conflict in Wilkinson County; the last of those bloody harvests of the reconstruction seed. While it did not originate directly in politics, the strife was due to a racial distrust and hostility that was incident to negro political dominion. On the Louisiana border line there had been for years exceptional unrest and disturbance of order. To repress disorder and crime, such as cotton and cattle stealing, white men of the Feleciana parishes had organized companies of "regulators"—the original "bulldozers." Organization intended for suppressing ills that grew out of weak and corrupt government, ran into abuses that created a state of terror. To prevent the spread of excesses that were demoralizing to plantation labor and management, in the adjacent parts of Wilkinson, "protective" societies were formed; the purpose being to protect persons and property as well as punish petty crimes. Men of both races joined these societies, which were promoted and encouraged by the most prominent white citizens in a part of the county where population was more than ten negroes to one white. From the very fact that Wilkinson County did not participate in the revolution of 1875 the negro population was the more alarmed and mentally unsettled by it. At such a juncture, a country merchant named Aaronson was murdered at night, in his store where he lived alone. This was near the State line, in West Feleciana parish. Such was the precipitant of an uprising that involved all the southwestern part of the County of Wilkinson.

Hearing of the murder, and that it had been committed by negroes from Wilkinson County, men from Woodville, which was about ten miles distant, went to the scene to arrest the murderers. This body of men was fired on by a larger number of negroes, who had gathered under a vague idea that the long talked of war of races had begun. They were easily dispersed, four or five being wounded, one fatally, and some captured. Two of the leaders, who were accused by the others of engaging in the murder of Aaronson, were hung. This was on Saturday. The next day rumor was busy spreading the story of a race war far

and wide. Reports came to Woodville of the approach of an army of negroes. Scouts were sent out and the town was picketed that night. Information was received that while there were no organized bodies of negroes in motion, they had gathered in arms in the southwestern part of the county, fifteen miles from Woodville, and nearly the same distance from the scene of the Aaronson murder. The alarm having spread to Amite County, a hundred white men under Col. Moses Jackson, rode into Woodville Sunday evening. Monday morning Sheriff Noble of Wilkinson County, went from Woodville to disperse the armed bodies of negroes. He took with him two hundred men, who were divided into three bodies, under Col. Moses Jackson, Col. J. H. Jones, and Dr. Geo. H. Peets, each going by a different road to the plantations in the Pickneyville neighborhood, where the negroes were assembled.

When the forces collided it was the old story. A volley was fired at long range by the negroes, which hit no one. Then, upon the return fire and charge of the white men the negroes broke and fled. A few of their number were killed and wounded. Some were arrested and several of the leaders hung. The white men were held in thorough control by their leaders and the wretched affair was not disgraced by wanton slaughter. Not exceeding twenty lives were taken in the whole of the series of conflicts. After being dispersed the negroes returned to their cabins and their work. The white companies returned to Woodville, those from Amite going home. But the next day some hundreds of negroes from the northwestern and Old River sections of the county assembled and moved in the direction of Woodville. They were induced to disperse with no other bloodshed than the killing of their leader. There was the already noted and usual feature of this miniature "race war." It brought on no conflict or bloodshed between the negroes and the few unprotected white families of the plantations where the uprising occurred. Wholly at the mercy of the negro rioters, they were unmolested. Individual planters went freely among their revolted tenants and urged them to disperse. While their counsels were disregarded, no insult or violence was offered them or their families.

When peace and order were restored, Sheriff Noble telegraphed Governor Stone as follows:

WOODVILLE, May 19th.

"Quiet is restored through the county. The trouble could have been avoided had not the colored people fired on my posse. They were ordered by their leaders to kill the white people from the cradle up. I have arrested some of the ringleaders and may get more.

"W. H. NOBLE,
"Sheriff.

Sheriff Noble was a native of the county and was one of the first to "turn radical." His reward was the sheriff's office, which he had held since 1869. In all this time he had been the autocrat of the negro hosts in his county. In no other county was any leader more blindly followed. Playing upon their fears and passions, they moved in unquestioning devotion at his will. Great was the shock, the amazement and horror, when he appeared riding against them at the head of bands of armed white men. That he appeared in the name of the law was nothing to the ignorant followers whom he had taught the lesson of distrust and hate of their old owners. Their devotion was changed to hatred, and his name was coupled with curses and threats ever afterward. He had sowed the wind, and his black dupes alone had reaped the whirlwind.

A resolution for investigation of the Mississippi election was adopted by the United State Senate, March 3d. The chairman of the committee was Senator George Boutwell, and with him were associated Senators Cameron and McMillan, Republicans, and Bayard and McDonald, Democrats. As recited, the investigation was predicated upon allegations of "great frauds and violence upon the colored citizens of the State on account of their color, etc., who were by intimidation and force prevented from their right to the free exercise of the elective franchise as secured by the fifteenth amendment." The committee was directed to investigate the truth of the allegations, and "to enquire and report to the senate before the end of the session whether any, and if so, what legislation is necessary to secure the said colored citizens the free enjoyment of their constitutional rights." By subsequent resolution, the same committee was empowered to investigate the Wilkinson County riots, which occurred after the adoption

of the first resolution. Testimony was taken at Washington from April 27th to June 1st; at Jackson from the 9th to the 24th of June, and at Aberdeen June 26th and 27th. The report filled two large volumes of over 1,000 pages each. Under the politcal temper of the times, there were two reports, of course.

The character of the majority report was forecast by the spirit of Senator Boutwell's remarks. Upon a biased view of evidence that went far beyond the scope of the resolution defining its jurisdiction, it found that "the present legislature of Mississippi is not a legal body, and that its acts are not entitled to recognition by the political department of the government of the United States." And that "the resignation of Governor Ames was effected by a body of men calling themselves the legislature of Mississippi, by measures unauthorized by law, and that he is of right the governor of the State. The white people were described as "possessing the larger part of the property; who command leisure uniformly whether they individually possess property or not; who look with contempt on the black race and with hatred on the white men who are their political allies; who are habituated to the use of arms in war and in peace; who in former times were accustomed to the exclusive enjoyment of political power and who now consider themselves degraded by the elevation of the negro to equality in political affairs." The report concluded with an "appeal to congress" as follows:

"The power of the national government will be invoked and honor and duty will alike require its exercise. The nation cannot witness with indifference the dominion of lawlessness and anarchy in a State with their incident evils and a knowledge of their inevitable consequences. It owes a duty to the citizens of the United States residing in Mississippi and this duty it will perform. It has guaranteed to the State of Mississippi a Republican form of government, and this guarantee will be made good. The measures necessary and possible in an exigency are these:

"1. Laws may be passed by congress for the protection of the rights of citizens of respective States.

"2. States in anarchy, or wherein the affairs are controlled by bodies of armed men should be denied representation in congress.

"3. The constitutional guarantee of a Republican form of government to every State will require the United States if these disorders increase, or even continue, and all milder measures shall prove ineffectual, to remand the State to a territorial condition, and through a system of

public education and kindred means of improvement change the idea of the inhabitants and reconstruct the government upon a Republican basis."

The minority report pointed to the unwarranted latitude of the investigation, stating that "nearly every right and power of the State has been made the subject of investigation of the widest and most unrestrained enquiry." It quoted from the supreme court definition, in the decision below referred to, of the "limitations upon the powers of congress in its relation to the internal affairs of the State." The undisguised partisanship in which the investigation had been undertaken and carried out was exposed, and emphasized by a severe rebuke administered to President Grant, for grossly improper judgment passed on the Mississippi situation while it was undergoing investigation. No one of the many unseemly displays of partisan bias blotting the president's record more deserved condemnation than this. Justly resenting his atttempt to prejudice their report in the public mind, the committee said:

"While waiting this report, the undersigned have read with surprise and regret the message of the president dated July 31st, transmitting to congress certain correspondence relating to the murders lately committed in Hamburg, in South Carolina. In this message he has seen fit to use the following language: 'But recently a committee of the senate visited the State of Mississippi to take testimony on the subject of violence in elections. Their report has not yet been made public, but I await its forthcoming with a feeling of confidence that it will fully sustain all that I have stated relating to fraud and violence in the State of Mississippi.' In his letter of the 26th of July to Governor Chamberlain, he had stated: 'Mississippi is governed to-day by officials chosen through fraud and violence such as would scarcely be accredited to savages, much less to a civilized and Christian people.' This last statement, come from whom it may, we pronounce in the face of the testimony taken by this committee and not yet printed, to be untrue and unwarranted by the facts yet to be disclosed. The tone of animosity to the white people which breathes throughout the president's message, and letter is unmistakable. In his message six days subsequent to this letter the president says: 'The report (on Mississippi) has not yet been made public.' Why should he anticipate? We hold it, and believe it will be so held by right thinking men everywhere, discreditable for the chief magistrate thus to have exhibited such evidence of prejudice against any portion of his fellow-citizens. It adds, however, but another proof to the many given heretofore, that the heart and mind of President Grant are closed to all sense of justice, where his political opponents, especially in the Southern States are concerned."

In contradiction of the charge that the present legislature was an illegal body, the minority report stated:

"The testimony relative to 22 counties, leaving 51 counties in the State in regard to whose affairs no fact of any character was alleged before the committee. Of these 22 the chief portion of the testimony related to Warren, Hinds, Monroe, Chickasaw, Madison, Lowndes, Claiborne, Amite, Yazoo and Washington. The 'revolution' was in fact confined to these ten counties. Replying to a question concerning the legality of the legislature, United Stated District Attorney Thomas Walton, a zealous convert to the Republican party, testified: 'I remember that I had a conversation with Governor Ames on that subject. He made the remark that the legislature was a legal body, because the number of Republicans in the legislature and the number of Democrats in the legislature, who were peacefully elected, constitute a majority of the house, and thereby were entitled to decide the question of the right of the other members to their seats."

The report of the minority closed with the assurance that "the statement of the result of the election by Governor Ames, that the legislature was a legal body, is more than sustained by the testimony."

The minority report dwells particularly upon the evidence of prominent Republicans, showing that Ames was responsible for the defeat of his party, that his methods of administration had aroused not only the extreme resentment and resistance of the white people, but had also sown the seeds of factious hostility within his own party, estranging and exciting the hostility of his associate leaders and destroying the unity and efficiency of his party organization. To convict Ames of such responsibility the minority thus dissected his administration and its methods:

"He was unlearned in law or civil rule. Military methods and rigor were his only conceptions of government. He seemed greedy of political power without comprehending its responsibilities. He did not learn his deficiencies by association with men more learned in civil rule than himself, but, avoiding men of character, surrounded himself with obstructive and infirm associates. The character and tactics of the people among whom he had gone as a stranger, and yet to be their ruler, he never studied nor cared to comprehend. He never gained their respect, but by his use of public power he entirely lost whatever he might have had of their respect. The end of all his methods was simply force, the bayonet. When he found the political knot was complicated, he set aside methods of reason and used the sword to cut it, because he was devoid of the skill or patience to untie it. * * * In his testimony citing his last message to the legislature he says he regarded the whole affair as a race issue, in which he avowedly intended to take issue with the black race against the white, and to use all his power, personal, political and official, in their behalf."

While this is a true survey of Ames and his government, it does not lift the ultimate responsibility for an abhorrent chapter of history from congress and the reconstruction policy it applied to the Southern States. Under any administration the collision and the collapse would have come much as it did come. And bitter as the strife was between Ames and his party enemies, all were ready to harmonize and strike hands upon another era of force—to have had the election set aside and military government re-enthroned as proposed by the committee majority; with themselves as the official instruments of "a system of public education and kindred means of improvement for change of the ideas of the inhabitants and reconstructing the government upon a Republican basis." The lessons of experience had been all wasted upon Republican leaders at home and at Washington. That Mississippi was spared the adoption of the measures proposed by the majority of the Boutwell committee was due to the fact of a Democratic house, and the fear of losing the pending election by the further estrangement of Northern opinion it would arouse. President Grant's message already cited prove his willingness to have entered upon such a course. In this message were embraced correspondence and documents indicating the contemplation of embarking the Federal courts in another Ku Klux campaign—of securing a multitude of indictments and convictions of men who, conceding their guilt, were not amenable, under the plain terms of the supreme court decision in the Grant Parish cases, to the penalties of Federal law.

In substantiation of this statement the following letter from United States District Attorney Walton to Attorney General Alphonso Taft, is quoted, July 15th:

"Sir—I have the honor to submit herewith the report of the grand jury lately in session here (Oxford) together with the evidence on which it is based. The evidence you will see, plainly required the grand jury to indict a great many persons for violations of the election laws. But out of eighteen grand jurors seven were found who refused to concur in any such indictment. I learn, however, that all but one of the jurors voted for this report. All but this one professed to belong to the Republican party; and some of those who finally voted against the eleven who were for the indictments, were throughout the whole session apparently the most reliable men we had to sustain the indictments and the most reliable and zealous in investigating the cases. This

was particularly true of the man who wrote the report, yet he finally went against all prosecutions though we had conceived him to be the most earnest, as he had certainly been the most active, man assisting us in bringing to justice, or at least in investigating the election cases. I can only lament the shameful failure of justice which has taken place, and have little doubt that it must and will give a most unbridled license to lawlessness at the next State, if not at the next Federal election.

"I am, sir, your obedient servant,

"THOMAS WALTON,
"United States District Attorney."

The above was submitted to congress by the president with his message. The grand jury report referred to, asserted that "fraud, intimidation and violence perpetrated at the late election is without parallel in the annals of history, and that time would fail to take testimony that could be easily introduced demonstrating that there is sufficient ground for finding thousands of indictments against persons that are grossly guilty." Instead of finding indictments, however, the report recited that,

"We can only recommend to the citizens of Mississippi to make an earnest appeal to the strong arm of the United States government to give them the protection that is guaranteed to every American citizen. * * * Unless the United States government enforces what is guaranteed by the constitution, then may the citizens of Mississippi exclaim, 'Farewell to liberty, farewell to the freedom of the ballot box.'"

With the grand jury report the following letter to the foreman of the grand jury, Wm. D. Frasee, was filed:

"OKOLONA, June 12, 1876.

"Dear Bill: It is reported here that true bills are to be found against all the country around Okolona for the raid on the negro Baptist church and the charge of Stovall's brigade on the viewless air, from Egypt on election day. If this be true you ought to know; and I presume you do know, that you and you alone, will be held responsible for the action of the grand jury. You can very well imagine how pleasant a life you will lead among, say two hundred men, who would all charge you with organizing a prosecution against them. You know I have always been your personal friend, and it is as a friend that I write to say, if you are not already committed to that line of policy don't allow the bills to be found. I think you know me well enough to give me credit for sincerity when I make such a suggestion. I have abundant reason for making it.

Yours,

"W. F. TUCKER."

The suspicion is warranted that the zeal of District Attorney Walton for prosecuting law-breakers, his lament for "the shame-

ful failure of justice," and his fetching "farewell to liberty," were not wholly disconnected from disappointment over the golden harvest of fees that failed him. Recollection was yet fresh of the enrichment of his predecessor, by the wholesale Ku Klux indictments. Both Walton and the foreman of the grand jury, Frazee, were of the class called scalawags; natives of the State who had joined the ranks of the oppressors.

Ames appointed V. ..on chancellor, when he removed Drennan for refusing bail to A. T. Morgan, and the bail followed.

In the southern United States court district all the Federal supervisors were summoned before the grand jury to testify of illegal interference and some indictments were found upon various causes. For instance, a prominent Washington County planter and lawyer, was indicted for telling a negro, who sought his advice, that he was not eligible as Federal supervisor because he was a candidate.

At this time and for years afterwards the statute provided as cause of disqualification on challenge of grand and petit juries in the United States courts, "having served in the rebellion, or given it aid and comfort, or to have given, directly or indirectly, any assistance in money, arms, horses, clothes, etc., anything whatever for the use or benefit of any one whom the giver knew to have been engaged in arms against the United States."

Partisan feeling was greatly intensified by a decision of the U. S. supreme court which was rendered the day before the resolution for the Mississippi investigation was adopted. The decision annulled indictments under the enforcement act of 1870, against certain parties in Grant parish, Louisiana, accused of banding and conspiring to injure and intimidate certain colored citizens, and for refusing to receive and count their votes. In its relief and the limitations it placed upon the act in question, it came to the Southern States as a reprieve from a life term of subjection to a power of oppression that overhung the land like a pall. Its reactionary effects were expressed in the following from a widely published interview given out by the famous ex-Attorney General Jerry S. Black:

"Since the Dred Scott decision there has been none of such conse-

quence to the country. A Republican, Chief Justice Waite, has practically annulled an act (for the enforcement of the fifteenth amendment) which was a disgrace to our statutes. The substance of the decision is this: It explicitly sets forth that the government of the United States, as a government, cannot protect or defend any right it did not originate. The right to bear arms, to vote, and the rights of rebellion and assemblage were inherent in the States long before the present Federal consitution was formed. Therefore the Federal constitution has no right of interference in any way with these exclusive prerogatives of the States. The constitutional amendments do not change this nor could they. I have never met a lawyer, no matter what his policies, who ever pretended to say an amendment to the constitution conferred the right of suffrage. They may remove one of the obstacles in the way of acquiring the right of suffrage, but this is all. Suffrage is a right bestowed by the State. When granted it is a personal right vested in the voter. The State protects him in its exercise and alone can punish those who may attempt to deprive the properly qualified person of the right. Briefly put the voter is the creation of the State and not the United States. This is what was decided by the supreme court yesterday. Although the decision does not expressly declare several sections of the force bill unconstitutional, its statements make any conviction under the act an impossibility."

For this decision, which all lawyers pronounced sound, and which has never been disturbed, Chief Justice Waite and the court were most venomously denounced by the Republican partisans. Coming at the beginning of the presidential campaign they well foresaw the political consequences of relieving the people of the South of the menace of wholesale prosecutions such as the decision annulled. Had it been given its true and logical effect the resolution for investigating Mississippi would have been dropped. The resolution was, however, adopted the day after the supreme court spoke. The Republicans needed the new crop of outrages expected from it for campaign uses. The decision was injected into the debate on the Mississippi resolution. Replying to remarks of Senator Bayard which expressed pleasure in the decision, Senator Boutwell spoke with extreme virulence. He said "the gentleman seems to hail the decision with great joy. I suppose he will soon be asking remission of the punishment of the Ku Klux murderers"; who had been convicted under the enforcement act. Addressing himself to Southern members, Boutwell said:

"These very men, fresh from fields of blood, are here making a great show of investigating the Republican party, which was magnanimous enough to give them their seats in congress. But the spirit of rebellion is not dead. It is as strong as ever it was. It is festering here in

congress. For seventy years, the spirit of hypocrisy and misrepresentation dominated over the slave holding section of this confederacy. They continually represented themselves to the country and the world as the friends of the Union, and it was a lie from the first to last. They were the enemies of the Union; and when the Union did not answer the chief purpose which they had, and the only purpose they had, the preservation of the institution of slavery, they made war upon the Union. The senator from Delaware (Bayard) was the political supporter and ally and substantial defender of the men who made war upon the Union, who clung to the Union for seventy years under the falsehood that they were its friends. They were its enemies all the while. Slavery, the spirit of slavery, is and ever has been the enemy of the Union and is so to-day. The troubles in the South are due to the spirit of slavery, and the time has come when I am forced to confess to myself and with reluctance to say here, that I do not in my heart believe that any man educated under and obedient to the influence of slavery can be the friend of a union that is designed to establish and preserve equality. The North will do well to take heed and to trust no man, who was brought up under the influence of slavery, controlled by its spirit and dominated by its power."

This is a sample of argument which in its day was aptly called "waving the bloody shirt," "firing the Northern heart." But it had well nigh run its course. Happily the country was fast passing from under the spell of the Boutwells, the South-haters, whose venom was but made the deadlier by the escape of one State from their grasp. The independent press was quick to combat those who would have forced Mississippi back under the base military and carpetbag rule.

The Nation, an independent journal of highest literary merit and moral standing, thus spoke of the Mississippi case as stated by President Grant and the Boutwell report:

"We confess that we find it difficult to speak with moderation of recommendations at once as wicked and imbecile as these. On the first of January, 1874, the entire government of Mississippi was Republican, with Ames at its head, and it is now nearly two years since the Vicksburg riot took place. In that case Ames applied for and Grant gave him troops, and a congressional committee investigated the subject, and reported that they were both justified in what they did. After this there was an interval of profound quiet, but before the November elections of last year, an attempt was made to get more troops, to which the president refused to yield. The result was that the State, as every one expected, went Democratic, and now the president, who last year, after all the previous riots, thought that troops were not needed, sits down and writes a letter (on July 26th, before the appearance of this report) to Governor Chamberlain, confiding to him that 'Mississippi to-day is governed by officials, chosen through fraud and violence, such as would scarcely be accredited to savages, much less to a civilized and Christian people.' If he knows this now, he must have know it then,

and his refusal to interfere must be characterized as an act which would scarcely be accredited to savages, much less to the president of civilized and Christian people. And now comes this second congressional report, and declares that the State is in a condition of anarchy (it has been judged by all external signs in a condition of profound peace) and that we may have to make it a Territory and begin reconstruction at a point it had reached in 1868. In other words, we have Mr. Boutwell assuring us now, on the eve of an exciting presidential election, that a State which General Grant last year rated as being in the same condition as Massachusetts or New York, is and has for a long time been in a condition of anarchy; and we have the extraordinarily impudent proposal that after the experiment of reconstruction has according to Mr. Boutwell, completely failed, after a ten years' trial, and the State is in the condition of Mexico through the incompetency of himself and his party, with the task of doing it all over again."

There came in the train of the Boutwell committee the famous anti-slavery agitator, James Redpath. He attended the investigation and served the committee in a clerical capacity. Upon his return he wrote a series of letters to the New York *Independent,* or notes of his observations and conclusions of Southern conditions which uprooted beliefs of a life time. Convictions of right and duty on which he had founded faith as on a rock, crumbled at the touch of the acid test. After all of his years of agitating and writing for negro emancipation and equality he, at the end, gathered nothing but dead sea apples from the tree he had nurtured to fruition. He thus bade a sad and a despairing adieu to his guiding star, now seen to be an ignis fatuus illusion:

"I never experienced so keen a sorrow connected with public affairs, as during my visit to Mississippi. The negro has shown that he is not fit to rule. He is the dupe of white and black demagogues. And, alas, in war—for the last campaign was a military revolution—he is the only one who suffers. It is the greatest problem of our time and a most complex problem. Let me state it boldly. If we give complete military protection to the negroes in elections in South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana, where there is a large black majority, we shall establish a system of government which no white race on the face of this earth either ought to or will endure. That is one side. And the other side reads: If we fail to protect the negro in the right of suffrage we thereby surrender the States of South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana to the same brutal banditti who drove these communities into civil war."

But Mr. Redpath did not flinch from the dire and evil revelations—after proving his pudding by chewing the bag, he thus truthfully summed up the case which had gone so heavily against himself:

"Negro local governments in Mississippi bore the same relation to

orderly Republican administration that negro minstrelsy bears to the divine symphonies of Beethoven. County and levee board administrations were indecent burlesques on all republican governments. Nor was this all. The blacks, confiding in their leaders because they called themselves Republicans and uninstructed in the sacred duties of citizenship, seemed utterly indifferent to the character of the candidates whom their unworthy leaders selected for office. Many Republican tickets were simply infamous—made up of men who, if they had their deserts, would have been inmates of the penitentiary."

With this conclusive though unintended vindication of the struggle of the white people of the State against reconstruction—the miscreated Frankenstein of government set over them—by this rabid and life long abolitionist, this chronicle of the days that tried the souls of Mississippians is closed.

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